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RACE AND RELIGION IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA 1850-1877

PROTESTANT PAROCHIAL PHILANTHROPISTS

Joseph R. Washington, Jr.

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THE PUBLIC ETHICS LIMITS OF AMERICAN LIBERALISM AND LIBERAL LYMAN ABBOTT

IDEAS AND IDEALS OF H.BEECHER THE IDOL OF L. ABBOTT

According to the logic of the Reverend Lyman Abbott (1835-1922), the realist who succeeded Henry Beecher, the idealist, as the legendary leader of the lions, in and through the life and work of Beecher the Evangelical Millennial Calvinism-enlivened Puritan Orthodoxy and Congregational Church faithful Yankess were transformed from alternately observant reactionaries, conservatives, and moderates into a progressive transformationist collective conscious.

But Abbott did not interpret the Congregationalists as progressive transformationists, engaged in the coinstantaneous perversion of authentic Puritan Piety into Halfway Piety and genuine benevolence into deterrence-benevolence, who truly believed they were called to be the status quo stabilizing factor in the body politic.

The antebellum progress of the wayward worldly saints in the Northeast, paralleling the growth and development of the slavocrats in the Southeast, climaxed with their advancement of the Congregationalist Church into the modern standard of a productive Denomination. Initially expending its resources primarily in improving dogmatic traditions and sectarian institutions, it was converted, due in no insignificant measure to catalyst Beecher, into a pragmatic and realistic moral instrument.

In this capacity, with Beecher effectually functioning as one of the chief ecclesiastical engineers, the Congregationalist Church of Yankee-Puritans evolved from avoiding mixing politics and religion and meddling in policy questions into the critical mass of public sector-impacting Protestant philanthropists at the helm of the decision-making corporate boards of American Civil Religion. Establishing Henry Beecher as the key connective link, interconnecting the antebellum apolitical and antiabolitionist Congregationalist Church and the postbellum Denomination as the host of the major Protestant social amelioration agencies, was not an easy feat to accomplish. However, the difficult achievement was one a perceptive and self-starting peer assigned himself.

A bold exponent of fiscal conservative, social moderate, and theological liberal Protestant ecumenism, Abbott credited Beecher with being the chief catalytic agent accelerating the movement of the Church of the Yankees from a predominantly personal and private parochial-morality force into an instrument for individual and community ethical responsibility in all sectors of the society. Abbott published this position as editor (1876-1922) of the *Christian Union*, the Congregationalist paper he renamed the *Outlook* in 1893, before he succeeded (in 1888) Henry Ward Beecher as minister of Plymouth Congregational Church.

Beecher may have been a more ambivalent and cautious than cost-conscious pioneer in the evolvement of establishment Protestant Church leaders from social conservatives to liberal structural change agents--a development delayed by traditionalists and protectionists of Orthodoxy, who as Trinitarian Congregationalist advocates of antiabolitionism declared proabolitionism of adversary Unitar-

ian Congregationalists like Theodore Parker sheer heterodoxy.

But contrapositively stating his mature if not definitive judgment, Abbott asserted that "in this great movement Mr. Beecher has been the leader." Quickly moving to remove all doubt regarding his final estimation, Abbott underlined his high praise for Henry Beecher:

> He has rendered his generation many and great services--moral, political, social, theological; but his greatest service is this, that he has taught the Puritan Church that God is love.[189]

In his mid-bellum sermon on the *Ground and Forms of Government*, Beecher understood the religion of pro-White race/ethnic interests and its conversion into anti-Black race interests to be interchangeable with the proslavocracy doctrine that Black race involuntary servitude in perpetuity is right, good, and divine; and, therefore, both the "peculiar institution" and the slavocracy (structuring a Southern Way of Life and an agrarian political economy) are high ethical and high culture formations correctly demanding unrestricted expansion to realize their social redeeming value.

While he was equally in command of his rational faculties and confident in the full powers of his Yankee tradition--from which Calvinist and Puritan dialectic proceeded the affirmation that "whom the Devil entices he cheats"--Beecher possessed enough candor to admit a minor diminished capacity: "I do not know the power of the Devil." But the confession was intended as neither real nor false modesty, such as was expressed in the moment of his outrage over the outlandish opposition to Lincoln's administration of the War:

> There was a time when I felt that all party spirit was being laid aside, and that all parties were being united to sustain the administration in the prosecution of this glorious war in the cause of universal humanity. I was in favor of sinking all political considerations, and standing by those men that best stood by the government. But since the enemy has sown tares among us, and an Opposition has been formed, God do so to me, and more also, if I strike hands except with him who is openly and avowedly for liberty, and liberty for every man. I would denounce my brother, I would denounce my own father, if he argued on the side of these enemies of their country and of freedom.[190]

Henry Ward's brother, James Beecher, a colonel of a Black regiment in the Union Army, fought on the front lines; and his father, the onetime stalwart of the antislavocracy-proslavocracy church complement of the state policy of neutrality, even while entering the irreversible stages of death and dying, had rallied to the defense of the Yankee-Puritan prestige and the Union cause his son promoted. But while Henry Beecher was as safe as he was clear in this ringing endorsement of the Union, his patriotism ran ahead of his powers of discriminating observation and critical analysis:

> There has never been a sight more despicable than that of Northern doughfaces, in the presence of Southern slave-drivers; and now that Northern manhood is emancipated, and you are standing up, I beseech you in the name of God and humanity, do not put yourself

again into bondage and servility.[191]

Contemporary Black auditors were given reason to wonder if this public declaration was more than a rhetorical flourish--especially in view of Beecher's admonition to his congregation: "Go back with the staunchest principles" of the Puritan and Anglican English-Americans, who reached a White Gentlemen's Agreement to exclude Black males from the Union; "Go back to the days when we had Franklins, and Jeffersons, and Washingtons, and take their utterances, and follow their precepts." The identical faulty premise leading to the flawed logic enabling Beecher to rationalize self-determination preempting legal instruments designed and/or executed by these three slavemasters, in the heroic roles as Founding Fathers, also advanced as reasonable value judgments his promotion, by turns, of Colonization-hyperexclusion, Emancipation-gradualism, and abolition-immediatism.

Truth to tell, albeit a less obvious than real development, Beecher lumped the three (conservative-Colonizationism, moderate- pro-gradualism, and liberal-proabolitionism) alternatives into one composite correlation and coefficient policy of constructive engagement between democracy and slavocracy, and antislavocrats and proslavocrats, and slaves and masters. Perforce this endeavor to harmonize irreconcilables, Beecher disclosed a state of confusion--or the mind of Lincoln. The Reluctant Emancipator's dedication to the Colonizationist foreign policy of Black race denationalization/deculturalization/deportation, and domestic policy of gradualism, was changed by internal resolve rather less than by external pressure to emancipationism. The force was induced by radical Yankees and reactionary Cavaliers, whose polar opposite actions produced what amounted to Hobson's Choice.

BEECHER'S INTERPRETATION OF AMERICAN ANTI-BLACK RACE INTEREST IN BRITAIN

Beecher was determined not to restrict his fusion of incompatibles to his great American audience. Forthwith he carried this profusion of confusion with him as he booked passage and embarked on the ship sailing from Manhattan to London, and traversed Great Britain in 1863. He visited England with more hope than reason to expect that his ambivalence would be accepted uncritically. Beecher disembarked in the full orb of the reign of Alexandrina Victoria (1819-1901), Queen (1837-1901) of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress (1876-1901) of India, doubtless aware of the mutually fertile and almost exact correspondence between his personal character and that of the Victorian Age: each of which turned precisely on the pivotal points and movements of universal ethics from classicism, through Enlightenment empiricism to romanticism and eclecticism, and back to classicism.

Imperialism was not waning but waxing in the American Denominations and affiliates of the Evangelical World Alliance--whose Protestant leaders were so convinced they would achieve their ambition to become the dominant religious force in the universe that they called the nineteenth century and Victorian Age the Protestant century. But even imperious Beecher discovered that both his Yankee-Puritan and American Protestant pride were severely deficient in substance compared to the reality of imperialism that the British Empire arbitrarily superimposed upon vulnerable people of the world.

Upon arriving in the London port, Beecher vowed that he did not intend to

speak on slavery in the British Isles. But he was prepared to do so, and more than equal to the challenge when he was convinced by Englishmen that in speaking out he might further his mission and help to set in concrete the fluid British position--that was fast becoming policy since Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation--of not extending state resources and diplomatic recognition to the Confederacy. Although his primary objective as a self-appointed emissary was to secure the vital interests of the Union, in his antislavery performance he followed in the footsteps of Black and White New Abolitionists who lectured on the dehumanization system of slavocracy throughout the British Isles.

Thirty years earlier, William Lloyd Garrison, the antebellum-long proabolitionist advocate and adversary of antiabolitionist Lyman Beecher, journeyed to England where he weaned the British Abolition Society from the Southern-based and Northern-financed ACS to the evolving AAS, and won the support of British Abolitionist leaders like Member of Parliament William Wilberforce. Beecher was "pleased" to have been introduced, before his Manchester speech (October 9), "as one connected with the great cause of civil and religious liberty." Candidly acknowledging that linking him directly with proabolitionism was an imprecise connection, Beecher set forth his explicit understanding of American Old Abolitionism:

> It is a historical fact, that all the great renowned men that flourished at the period of our revolution were abolitionists.

He specifically identified as Old Abolitionists the Virginia (Anglican-nurtured) slavemasters and Presidents, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Monroe, along with slavemaster Benjamin Franklin: the Massachusetts-native and Calvinist-reared member of Christ Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, who alone among the Puritan-Anglican Founding Fathers Beecher noted converted to Old Abolitionism. Given the excitement pervading the auditors he attempted to persuade, Beecher's misstatement of the facts and misrepresentation of the figures may be attributed to exuberance.

Recalling the anti-Anglican spirit of his Puritan fathers and his Yankee ancestors who battled the Loyalists--while discreetly circumventing the English Abolitionists whom antebellum and establishment Congregationalists found offensive to their antiabolitionist sensibilities-- Beecher informed the Manchester audience that "to hate England was in my boyhood almost the first lesson of patriotism." Happily, however, he was able to report that "the interchanges of Christian sympathy" finally "removed ill-feelings" he harbored toward the English--which he replaced with "affection and admiration."

Thus while being remarkably forthcoming, he did not succeed in severing completely all the associations between himself and immediatism--even as he declined to accept the compliment that he was one of the New Abolitionist "pioneers" (and failed to include Black Old and New Abolitionists):

> No. I am only one of the their eldest sons. The Birneys, the Rankins, the Dickeys, the Thoms of the West, the Garrisons, the Quincys, the Slades, the Welds, the Stewarts, the Smiths, the Tappans, the Goodalls of the East, and the unnamed hundreds more, these were indeed pioneers. I unloosed the shoe-latches of the pioneers, and that is all: I was but little more than a boy: I bear witness,

> that the hardest blows and the most cruel sufferings were endured by men, before I was thrust far enough into public life to take any particular share; and I do not consider myself entitled to rank among the pioneers. They were better than I. Those noble men did resist this downward tendency of the North. They were rejected by society. To be called an abolitionist excluded a man from respectable society in those days.[192]

Equally as clearly, later in this address Beecher articulated his understanding of the meaning and source of anti-Black race interest. He ruled out entirely the Puritan relation to the historic and current anti-Black race desire realities. This was not an astonishing omission, for he had previously exempted the Founding Fathers from any sheer anti-Black race interest-specific proslavery sentiments, perchance because they also expressed antislavetrading sympathies: both of which principles and values they wrote as rules and regulations and enacted into law as the order of the land upon the ratification of the Constitution:

> South itself, maintaining the oppressive institution, is the guilty cause of whatever insult the free African has had to endure in the North. How next did that prejudice grow strong? It was on account of the multitude of Irishmen who came to the States.

Absolving the Puritan, Quaker, and Anglican English race representatives of any consistent responsibility for the rise, growth, and expansion of anti-Black race values, while casting all the blame upon the British ethnic immigrants, especially the Irish, was doubtless a safe enough error to commit in an Irish-free auditorium.

Six years prior to this speech, strict constructionist Chief Justice Taney ruled for the proslavocrat majority of justices, in the 1857 Dred Scott case, that, on the one hand,

> Dred Scott was not a citizen of Missouri within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States;

and, on the other hand that neither the

> slaves, nor their descendants, whether they had became free or not

were intended to be citizens of the Union--as defined in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Scholarly slavemaster Taney was peerless as the faithful interpreter of what the Founding Fathers intended. And in his interpretation of the static source and dynamic force of anti-Black race vice, Beecher was equally accurate and incorrect in speaking of Black folk before his English audiences as "our citizens."

Whether designed or accidental rhetoric it was not incidental but indicative of his penchant for misdirection. He knew the overwhelming majority of Black Americans were slaves and subject to states' rights, that the ruling of the Taney Court in the Dred Scott decision applied to the majority of free Black Northerners who were not citizens, and that New York and Massachusetts were two of only six Northern and Western states that enfranchised the few Black

males who passed the property holding qualification for exercising the franchise during the late antebellum early postbellum decades: when most Union-loyal states were either actively disenfranchising or refusing to enfranchise Black men who fought for the Union (alongside Black soldiers who made the supreme sacrifice).

By the time Beecher spoke in Glasgow, Scotland (on October 13th), he allowed that the War between the United States was "a war of institutions, not simply of races," yet seemed surprised when faced with what he declared the "astonishing pretense made in England that this war has nothing to do with slavery." The English were realists who argued that the Civil War was a result of antislavocrat and proslavocrat conflicts of real interests. Beecher preferred a religious humanitarian and moral idealist cause and effect relation to a realistic analysis of the hostilities, whereby he managed to ignore the antislavery-proslavery policy of neutrality the Lincoln Administration followed the Buchanan Administration in maintaining prior to the Emancipation Proclamation.

He reacted to the *realpolitik* calculation and conclusion by stating that "slavery has been the very alphabet of the war," the very "root of it," while carefully avoiding the claim that securing pro-Black race interest was a direct cause and it was at best an indirect benefit of the War. Simultaneously, counterbalancing his claim that the hostilities were essentially a war for liberation of Black bondage, Beecher argued the case for the Civil War being a power conflict between slavocracy and democracy precipitated by the "gigantic system of slavery" challenging the Union, "her free soil, free labor, free speech, and her free press; and the question is, *which of these two shall govern the American continent?*":

But the frustrating and unnerving matter inhered in the unanticipated fact that each successive speech he delivered evoked more and more queries in the question period concerning the Black race. In Edinburgh, on October 14th, where he was preceded several years by Presbyterian brother of the cloth Henry Highland Garnet whom the Church of Scotland appointed her missioner to Jamaica, Beecher addressed the color caste class concern squarely and fully:

> But it is said, that the North is just as bad as the South in its hatred for the negro. At one time I admit that there was a prejudice against the black man, arising out of the political condition of things; but I can bear witness that this prejudice has almost entirely passed away, in so far as the native population is concerned. I shall not say who are the bitterest enemies of the black men, because you would hiss me if I did so. There is no doubt that the Irish have a strong prejudice against the negroes, but it arises simply from this, that they have been led to believe by the enemies of the North, that, were the slaves freed, they would dispute the field of labor with them; whereas everybody who knew anything of their disposition could tell, that, were they freed, the Northern negroes would flock to the South, leaving the North for Northern laborers.[193]

English and British auditors were given to understand by orator Beecher that among the North America-indigenous Black folk no native Black Northerners and only Black Southerners existed, Black males naturally would not compete with White ethnic labor for manufacturing jobs, and White race/ethnic Union forces

were not seeking "to destroy the Anglo-Saxons for the sake of a few millions of negroes." For, although "the freedom of the negroes will no doubt result from this war" as an indirect by-product, the truth is this--"we are fighting" in general for the good of humankind, and in particular "to save representative government and universal liberty."

The impeccably logical rationalization and colorful rhetoric were directed with professional precision and obvious conviction, but his powers of persuasion lost compelling force increasingly as the lecture tour progressed toward Liverpool (October 16th). This loss greatest relative to his incapacity to disabuse the English of one lingering suspicion, that he thought was due to a total misunderstanding of American social reality and reflected collective British greater ignorance than command of accurate information, namely, the belief that "the North treats the negro race worse than the South."

He was eager to dissuade his hosts of their presumed misconstructions, who concurrently absorbed or caused to vanish by mysterious means the preponderance of the not entirely statistically insignificant Black British African race-presence in the British Isles, and engaged in dominating black Indians while subjugating India within the world-extensive British Empire. Pursuant to changing minds, Beecher revealed his misestimation of English depth perception of reality, increased by their creative combination of theory and experience to predict and control Black lands and culture, and conceded there had been "thoughtlessness" and "stupor" in the North American body politic:

> For a period of twenty-five years she went to sleep, and permitted herself to be drugged and poisoned with the Southern prejudice against black men.

Beecher argued with (instead of) the facts and therefore argued unsuccessfully the case for the beguilement of the Yankee-Puritans he proclaimed ethically unmatchable in their morally superior New England region, of Puritan origin and Yankee development and by his definition free of anti-Black race interest-specific premises and priorities or principles and practices. His assertion stated half-truths and half-lies: The Northeastern technical logicians and masters of empirical rationalism engaged in attitudinal and behavioral patterns that were immoral relative to their high standards because they were enticed and overwhelmed by the seductive powers of the slavocracy.

The truth Beecher found to be either unbearable or unmanageable but certainly nonnegotiable and therefore unmentionable the English instinctively understood comprehensively: Northeastern capitalists entered into an arrangement with Southeastern agrarians--facilitated by the Compromises reached between Senators Daniel Webster and John Caldwell Calhoun and Henry Clay--to advance their real interests and capital investments in the planter-merchant class's real estate, plantations, and color chattel property productive labor turned the plantations into profit-making corporations.

Miscalculating the cultural analysis and critical ethical powers of discrimination employed by his English peers, the past masters of producing wealth without distributing income fairly and equitably in the Victorian Age, Beecher chose the alternative and devious route of avoiding the blameworthy to fasten on the praiseworthy complementary intentions and consequences of Yankees. One half a decade after English law mandated the end of indentured servitude in the British Isles, the Constitution of Vermont abrogated human bondage three years

before the Constitution of Massachusetts followed suit. Beecher in his role as foreign correspondent knew the facts better than he understood the fact that his challenging foreign press and audience were informed critics, and was failure to communicate because he argued truth--New England abolished slavery--and error when he implied that New Englanders banished anti-Black race values coinstantaneously.

Yankee dual abolition of caste and bondage was sustained, he avowed, until the expansionist policy of democracy's slavocracy constricted free market competition, caused the unconscionable and intolerable conflict of interests between competing political economies, and provoked antislavocrats to confront slavocrats as threats to the national security and interests (if not values). He made his point clear, whether or not he made it stick: The aggression of the slavocrats was unwarranted and unnecessary, turned Northern White "Cotton Whigs" and "Conscience Whigs" from firm friends and foes into bitter enemies, and produced as a side effect increasing anti-Black race interest demands in the land of the free and bold brahmins.

The American minister and emissary more exactly than ambassador selected and selectively interpreted the figures, faced the facts and the conscience factors of his color-conscious intentions and consequences, and demonstrated the courage of his convictions when he candidly admitted and appreciated in the foreign state the central concern that made him a crisis in confidence and credibility rather than competence: The Black race and space is violently violated as viciously as the female and male parts of the Black body are raped and ravaged. Beecher did not blame the victims as positively as he laid the blame for their victimization on English race slavocrats and British ethnic immigrants, and absolved of blame the Yankee-Puritan representatives of the English race.

Beecher continued his misarrangement of the great certainties and realities perforce not only true intentions but also truth and consequences, whereby the truth in history and current reality is the direct opposite of his misconjecture that the evil of slavery was the original sin (Original Sin in ancient Israel and America of the Jewish and Puritan "chosen people of God" and the Founding Fathers) or primary cause and effect of anti-Black race values.

By the grace of God, and Providence's gift of nobility to the Puritan and Yankee race or intergenerational transmittable "seed of Abraham," the Yankee-Puritan English race representatives in the Northeast were preponderantly free and clear of color prejudice until racism was thrust upon Northeasterners by Southeasterners, who, with their aggressive expansion of the slavocracy, at once re-introduced the problem of slavery and introduced intensive anti-Black race desire in the North.

Due almost entirely to new political and economic real interests--proliferating with the opening of the West whose rich raw resources added unprecedented means and opportunity to the competing capitalistic and wealth-producing Northeastern free labor/management/capital-industrialism and Southeastern slave labor/planter/crops-agrarianism systems--Yankee opportunists indifferent to Calvinist revitalization and the re-embodiment of Puritan morality determined to be realists, and to advance pragmatically their real interests through extending the historic public ethics vacuum.

Forthwith the Black body in North America was turned into an economic football kicked around by Northern proslavocrat Democrats and antislavocrat Republicans bent on achieving the goal of securing their real interest advantages and competing real value claims:

> I confess it to my shame. But I am speaking now on my own ground, for I began twenty-five years ago, with a small party, to combat the unjust dislike of the colored man. Well, I have lived to see a total revolution in the Northern feeling....Those men who undertook to stand up for the rights of all men--black as well as white--have increased in number; and now what party in the North represents those men that resist the evil prejudices of past years? The Republicans are that party. And who are the *peace Democrats; and the prejudice for which in England you are attempting to punish me, is a prejudice raised by men who have opposed me all my life*. These pro-slavery Democrats abused the negro. I defended him, and they mobbed me for doing it. Oh, justice![194]

Beecher possessed a marvelous sense of humor and timing! But sometimes his dramatic flourishes were rhetorical flights of fancy, pure imagination, and the fusion of illusions and delusions. Frequently his perversion of tragedy into a comedy of errors left the distinct impression that his considerable powers of reason had taken leave of his ethical judgment.

Whence his direct action as a social change agent in race and religion relations, measured by the relation between his Black race advancement public promise and performance, was positively productive of enduring virtues and vices including the lasting values of his fantasies that he embraced to revise the fact and fiction of Black and White relations.

The Henry (imitating the Harriet) Beecher factor factored fictive figments and fractions and forced fractionalization. The rational and romantic form and function turned on a fancy for free associations that played fast and loose with truth and error. Beecher alternately contended that anti-Black race virtue never existed as a Puritan rule, whereas the admitted private and parochial intentional and public consequential Yankee harm-intensive reaction was merely a purely personal attitudinal and behavioral internal response to external stimuli; anti-Black race virtue emerged in the encounter with proslavocrat exploiters of the proslavocracy doctrine; and/or that Yankee pro-White race/ethnic real interests protectionists did not pervert Puritan antiblack white-ethnic virtue into anti-Black race virtue.

Beecher reasoned as well as he knew the laws of logic and the rules of empirical rationalism dictating that if wishes were witches beggars would fly. Nevertheless, preferring to keep company with power Protestants and the faith of these elite churchman, the spokesman for the establishment spokesman led the powerhouses in promulgating distorted images and demanding desires of Black Americans like the foregoing stereotypical remarks. These popular generalizations were published without discriminating between the generalizable and the universalizable, whereby Beecher not only flatly contradicted reality but also obscured the clear press throughout the antebellum era of virile and ugly anti-Black race values by American Denominations.

Furthermore, he knew the evidence for this reckless record of the righteous right was inarguable, entailed massive data compiled by AAS agents and the New York New Abolitionists whose AFAS Annual Meeting he addressed, and consisted of empirically verifiable statistically significant facts and figures. As an apologist for the Yankee-Puritan Orthodoxy (Congregationalism) and Reformed (Presbyterianism) Calvinist traditions, and the re-revisionists who preferred to be known as up-to-date traditionalists, Beecher materialized as the

best reflector of the religious and profane establishmentarians, the perfectly positioned conduit of the power elite's sacred and secular values, and the perfect conductor of the social dictates superimposed by the cultural determiners of Northern folkways and mores.

Whether Beecher was a leader in the establishment Congregational Denominational and therefore enjoyed a following, or whether he had a following and therefore became a leader in the Puritan Church, Beecher was believed and followed by more Northeastern Yankees possessing large influence and affluence than any other career-contemporary clergyman. He exposed in public his Evangelical Puritan heart to be his Yankee undivided will and mind more clearly and frequently than most brethren of the cloth, and thus he disclosed why the Puritan head of Eastern culture never faced the New England history of anti-Black race interests. Yankees were not freed from their Puritan past or its bequeathed anti-Black race values, in spite of the fact that Beecher thought they were nonexistent and the legacy demonstrable nonsense. Beecher was confident but not entirely certain of his assessment, and therefore he struggled to absolve New Englanders from being fairly charged with unconscious racist thoughts and accused of committing racist acts or even subject to guilt by association with racists.

He attempted to whitewash the black spots on the pure Puritan character in public, with the dramatic power of his positive thinking that he brought to bear on the unpersuaded at home and abroad during the Civil War.

The rational objective of these priestly purification rites rituals was to free Yankees from the consequences of their intentions and actions, including experimenting with giving the highest priority to securing anti-Black race interests whose experience and theory in reality he denied existed. He managed reality best as he engineered their temporary escape from the truth and consequences of Puritan vices. In this dimension of success, Beecher preserved the unbroken Puritan tradition and reinforced the determination of the establishment to continue the time-honored conventional wisdom way of engaging Black folk, which normally entailed placing a premium value on expedience and convenience in an a measured action through which they revealed the courage of their convictions as well as consensus common sense and conscience.

This religion and race relations principle and practice proved power was not less but more powerful when powerhouses were permissive in their command and control encounters with the powerless, by virtue of the fact that enforcement rules and regulations tolerated a few exceptions which neither tested nor overturned but confirmed the Yankee-Puritan rule of hyperexclusivity.

Beecher intended to set the record straight on this issue of social conscience during his Liverpool address, when he responded to a rhetorical question concerning the color caste condition in church and civil consociations. But upon being asked if Black worshippers were on "equal terms with the whites" in his Plymouth Church, character actor Beecher not only answered the accusation but demonstrated why the Puritan dramatist was considered the Yankee past master of misdirection:

> I declare that, at not time for ten years past--without any rule passed by the trustees, and without even a request from me--no decent man or woman has ever found molestation or trouble in walking into my church and sitting where he or she pleased. "Are any of the office-bearers in your church negroes?" No, not to my

> knowledge. Such has been the practical doctrine of amalgamation in the South that it is very difficult nowadays to tell who is a negro. Whenever a majority of my people want a negro to be an officer, he will be one; and I am free to say that there are a great many colored men that I know, who are abundantly capable of honoring any office of trust in the gift of our church. But while there are none in my church there is in Columbia county a little church where a negro man, being the ablest business man, and the wealthiest man in that town, is not only a ruler and elder of the church, but also contributes about two-thirds of all the expenses to it.[195]

Highlighting the White and Black odd couple was a technique Beecher favored, featured when he paraded in his pulpit the female fugitive as the paragon of virtue and vice, and furthered by featuring this odd man out in the little Columbia County Congregationalist Church. Beecher appeared to make the exception the rule and to invite suspicion as he made the Black "wealthiest man in that town" conspicuous by his presence in the peculiar role of outsider-as-insider, absence of opportunity to have ascribed insider-as-outsider high status despite his elevated station, and being the random and rare exception comprising the empirical evidence validating the new math and rule of individual exception proving the old rule of race exclusion --the Beecher counterpoint to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Beecher selected Black male "ruler" of White females and males in his role as ruling "elder of the church" stood out as the outstanding example of the (a) profound misunderstanding of the propagandist, and/or misinformation and disinformation transmitted by master manipulator of the media; (b) equally accurate and misleading Puritan standard deviation from the norm of hyperexclusivity; and (c) surrogate for serious endeavors to realize increasingly biracial egalitarianism. With heightened consciousness overriding social conscience and effective public ethics, inevitably secular and religious Yankees but particularly Protestant philanthropists in the circle of congregants who coveted Beecher's brand of Congregationalist Orthodoxy extended the select "Elect" versus the "Reprobate" Black masses from a Puritan tribal custom into a Yankee principle.

Upspringing from "the chosen people," this premise produced principles that generated rules for the rational law, rule, and regulation of religion and race relations. They revolved around the chosen few selected and elected Black male exceptions, whose rules of engagement and terms of endearment rulers determined to be the righteous and right choice and thereby they became the only real alternative. By means of this binding arbitration-substituting arbitrariness, the capricious Congregationalists rigorously and vigorously advanced error as truth by arguing as fact the fiction that a North America residing Black-race transmigrant or native son can exist in reality apart from his race, become an individual like a White (and every other North American emigrant) race/ethnic citizen who can choose to identity himself as a pure and simple individual or an American (with both his race and ethnic as well as either or neither), and achieve status on a par with the White ethnic individual constituent element of democracy, capitalism, and Christianity.

Truth to tell, the Congregationalist modernists continuously revised and emphasized these Halfway Piety deterrence-benevolence ethics along with the faith of Evangelical Calvinism throughout the nineteenth century. This modernization

minimized the maximized double indemnity versus double damnation chances, spawned the sophisticated less is more and good enough for Black folk rule of elitism powerhouse Protestants promulgated, and explained without explaining a critical civil culture consequence: The Yankee-Puritan Denomination's more real than apparent consideration of the spiritual needs of Colored Congregationalists (in particular and Colored Christians in general), whose great success with religious mores and moralisms (morals and manners) was surpassed only by their failure to advance their cultural kin-group's real interests and to attract their Calvinist cousins.

Doubtless Beecher shared power with the parson and parishioner confluence dominating the driving force that moved the Denomination to call and send amply funded ministers and missionaries to be scrupulously free and clear of partisan party power politics, selectively engaged in church and disengaged from civil affairs, and creatively involved in the Christianity and civility interstices between civil liberties and civil rights with religious sectarian or ecumenical principal interests. These late antebellum to mid-bellum through postbellum shared values and sacred priorities were all but entirely separate and distinct from the secular and profane certainties British Abolitionists called the great realities, directed to change the civil structures as church and state united in enlightened engagement ecclesiastical and civil power politicians, and established as the high ground in England on which Beecher felt sufficiently safe and secure to proclaim his "gratuitous mercy" not only sane and solid but also sound sense.

Beecher crossed the Atlantic to England seeking to secure an advantage for the Union through his private ministry of patriotism, that included explaining the difference in dehumanization between caste and bondage conditions Lincoln and his link counseled the color class to suffer gladly. Skeptics and cynics who scoffed and nearly stoned the messenger because they did not like his message, were reminded by the pro-Union agent, who committed himself for the duration of the Civil War as a part-time and short-term partisan party power politics, that he was risking his reputation on this voluntary mission of "mercy." Of course, if for no other reason than the fact that normally in the ordinary state of peace he preached for risk-free rather than risk-intensive ultimate security, Beecher did not believe the risk involved a high percentage disadvantage such as would threaten further existence at advantage.

The voyager to British port of call proceeded from the London dock armed with acute awareness of the current vulnerability odds but also buoyed by past performances that excited present prospects. Beecher sailed on the winds of change and constancy fully equipped with a photographic memory, whose total recall whose included the long Anglo-American history of cooperation between "Old and New England" Puritans.

This "Old and New World" Protestant philanthropy connection commenced with the British benevolence English Puritans channeled to stellar Millennarian John Eliot, continued with intermittent gifts and grants to aid the credit and cash flow problems Calvinist missionaries including the fiscal funds funneled to quintessential Millennialist Jonathan Edwards, advanced with financial assistance provided White antislavery agents of the antiabolitionist ACS and manumissionist Quaker Old Abolitionist Societies as well as the New Abolitionist AAS, and extended through the pre-antebellum and antebellum eras with the monetary contributions to Black fugitive and free Old and New Abolitionists who wrote their slave narratives in England.

Evangelical British Abolitionists, dominating the British Abolition Society, consistently exerted the leverage of their model Protestant missionary and abolitionist initiatives, applied all the pressure of their rich and famous eleemosynary institutions upon their Evangelical counterparts in America, and pressed them to follow suit or trump their strong abolitionist hand. English Abolitionists failed to achieve this objective more or less than they succeeded in evoking the stubborn resentment and vindictive wrath of leaders of the antiabolitionist establishment Churches in North America, who, as the Moral Majority and mainstream reformers, directed the plurality of the major Evangelical Denominations to resist abolitionism throughout the preponderance of the antebellum era.

Beecher carried to England the antiabolitionism legacy, attempted to scuttle the weighty built-in burden bureaucracies built-up, and preferred not to shoulder the tradition transmitted by his father and his firm friends who were formidable opponents of American and British Abolitionists. The foreign lecture circuit was demanding of the touring lecturer, who managed to be well informed concerning the pre-Civil War British Abolition Act enabling the English to instruct the Americans regarding the objective means and ends that they guaranteed would abolish slavery without civil war. They dismissed the advice as moral meddling with the affairs of a sovereign state, and in the middle of the Civil War the visitor who traveled the British Isles to secure the Union and not to defend the color caste/bondage class system suddenly discovered the role of apologist was thrust upon him.

The reluctant racism rationalist rose to the occasion lecturing the English on American religion and race relations, as if he thought one good turn deserved another or an ethical counterindoctrination turn about was fair play and an equally necessary task-responsibility, twenty five years after William Garrison visited the British Isles, invited British Abolitionist clergyman Charles Follen to lecture for the evolving AAS, and the messenger journeyed from England to America within months of Parliament's enactment of the British Abolition Act and was stoned by the Anglo-Americans who did not like the abolition message and method he delivered.

Beecher clearly possessed the motive, means, and opportunity to give the British a lesson in the wiles of racists that would not be lost on the class and caste relations experts, stated in his dairy delivering this word was not his original mission or intention, and discovered the driving desire and chance to carry coals to Newcastle was nearer at hand than he anticipated.

Prophet Beecher was a solid Calvinist forthteller and foreteller who took pride in his ability to reveal the hidden meaning of current events and to forecast the future consequences of ignoring the prophetic interpretation of reality. Prophecy took the floor as a defensive offensive mechanism when the bold brahmin bearded the lion in his den, after he sustained the charge of being part of the problem and not the solution to the racism system and countercharged that the Irish ethnic immigrants constituted a contributing cause to the intensification of color prejudice in the North.

It is difficult to determine why the litigious litigator of the civil complaint against complacent color crisis managers, as the ecclesiastical lawyer risked the charge of having a fool for a client when he took the stand to be a witness for the defense of his Puritan race whom he swore were a caste-free people, did not make stronger use of the emerging systematic and systemic caste system that the English race coveted as the pride of the Yankees argued the arguments for prejudice-innocent Puritan tribalism. Pursuant to making his moral point in

the nicely nuanced case for the classless and casteless American society, and intense pursuit of the fine point of law on which successful litigation of controversial civil issues turns, perchance the singular relevance of the pariah people Victorian Age foreign extensions of the British Empires neither escaped his capacious apperception nor existed beyond the limits of his prognosticative capabilities so much as the positive correlation possibilities exceeded the range of his rational powers of analysis, prediction, and control.

The logician might have more effectively countermeasured his demanding judges and appropriated the facts to argue the case for the Puritan presence being the absence of pride and prejudice in his defense of innocent Yankees. Beecher testified in public that Yankees were strong enough to be free of racism but too weak to resist their kissing Cavalier cousins whom they engaged, as Calvinists and capitalists in parochial and private enterprises inclusive of close encounters of the third kind and intimate intercourse, he caricatured as the cause and effect of the cultural malaise, and projected as prototype pre-AIDS carriers of the infectious caste virus cultural malaise that they transmitted in church and civil affairs.

What for his own dramatic reasons the unpredictable prestidigitator chose in lieu of driving home the evident positive caste correlations upspringing from the common roots of the complementary cultures was not to concede the fact that two wrong sometimes but do not always make a right, to proceed to make the pertinent point stick in the minds of his accusers that the British critics of American racism were operating on a double standard, and to prove the English played by two sets of ethical rules.

Certainly on the boundary line and not far beyond if not squarely within the prophet's predictive range surged, surfaced, and soared the submerged (A) English high class over low caste color-consciousness exciting the East India Company (1602-1798) to expand English wealth and the British Empire by extending British imperialism to the rule of India (1757-1948); and (B) English color and conscience conflict, positive negation and attraction law of alternation, and addition and substraction perforce contraction and expansion apropos ending the African slavetrade and returning to Africa to compete with the European powers currently completing the colonization (between 1880 and 1912) of the entire African Continent (save for the previously established Sierra Leone and Liberia Colonies respectively established by the British and American states for their New World slaves and freedmen).

Beecher always took himself seriously in America, and in England he was characteristically earnest and honest even when he implied and left the audience to infer that he was a reliable direct actionist whose deepest desires and principles practiced in public for the elevation of Black Americans were equally consistent and persistent. In this context, Beecher self-transubstantiated into a self-revelation as the medium is the message messenger challenged the cynics and answered the skeptics who questioned the integrity of the Brooklyn Dodger when the interrogators posed their judgment in the form of a provocative query: "Can a negro ride in a public vehicle in New York with a white man?"

The provoked parson replied that usually only and nearly always "on the eve of an election" politicians stir the passions of the Scotch and Irish White ethnic immigrants, and incite the lower-status foreigners and newly arriving working-class groups from the Continent and the British Isles to commit coarse and coercive uncivil acts "prejudice against the colored man."

Checking his frustration that flared up in rage to quiet the outrageous and

put the intemperate prosecutors in their place, the laid-back and collected Calvinist continued with the calm and cool direct answer to the question: In the normal environment, "there are but one or two of the city horse-railroads in which a respectable colored man will be molested in riding through the city."

Beecher elucidated the point by citing his personal protest of the Brooklyn Fulton Ferry that took the form of standing indiscriminately in its "two lines of omnibuses, one white and the other black." His auditors heard him testify that he exercised leadership by forming the citizens with heightened conscious behind his inspired opposition to discriminatory busing, and initiated direct action to reverse the policy of segregation instantly upon seeing his first Jim Crow sign in New York City: "Colored people not allowed to ride in this omnibus."

Beecher further vowed before the Liverpool citizens who attended his lecture that shortly after moving his ministry from Ohio to New York he discovered Jim Crow in Boroughs of New York City, converted to a civil rights radical in that moment of awareness, and made his public protest loud and clear immediately to the Fulton Ferry ticket agent and the omnibus driver who directed him to ride in the bus designated for White race commuters: "I am too much of a negro to ride in that omnibus." After two weeks of acquainting "every one I met" with the statistical figures and solid facts of the Jim Crow law and order of New York City, and admonishing them--"Don't ride in that omnibus, which violates your principles, and my principles, and common decency at the same time"--Beecher certified that when he arrived at the bus depot on the fifteenth days and happened "to look in" station he discovered "the placard was gone." The Liverpool auditors had to take him at his word: "I do not know whether this had any influence."

The relevance of this certified public account is the point that the clergyman (did not intend but) made. Three years before his mid-1840s relocation in Brooklyn, the runaway Frederick Bailey in Boston shocked Yankee sensibilities and precipitated his own temporary life as an expatriate when the emerging émigré published under his alias his *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave* (1845). As a consequence of exposing his whereabouts to his slavemaster, and fear that the slavehunters would track and send him back to his Maryland slaveowner, Douglass embarked that year on a two-year flight from freedom without liberty in the Promised Land to England, the state of liberty and freedom for all citizens and resident aliens from foreign and domestic lands inhabitants, to earn sufficient income on the lecture in the British isles to purchase his manumission papers.

Beecher argued from silence that in Brooklyn he out-Douglass Douglass in Boston, the New Abolitionist paid lecturer of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, who, several years earlier, led Black and White Bostonians in a mass protest movement to desegregate the public transportation system. The conscience campaign was catalyst causing the Boston authorities to reverse the Jim Crow mass transit policy in Boston and to enact and enforce a municipal law granting commuters the right to occupy the open seat of their choice.

Beecher left the British with the distinct impression that he neither either knew the Manhattan-based Black New Abolitionists or cooperated with the Black leaders of the New York Vigilance Committee nor required the support of the Black Congregationalist and Presbyterian clergymen-politician brethren of the Orthodoxy and Reformed traditions to end discriminatory busing in the Borough of Brooklyn.

Black New Yorkers most certainly needed the dramatic civil structural

change power that the social change agent boasted in England, especially in all the other sectors of the segregated society where he failed to employ his compelling force: while admitting injustice in the private-, parochial-, and public-order was reversible; claiming justice was achievable and affordable in the political and economic systems; and promulgating the moral point that civil fairness and equity were good and right goals of the Union but obtainable means and ends of Christianity and civility only if and to the extent that Yankee churchmen expend their Puritan will in the endeavor.

HENRY BEECHER'S YANKEE ADVOCATE AND ADVERSARY OF THE CAVALIERS

Beecher rushed to England after the Union suffered severe defeats on land and sea, after Charles Francis Adams (1807-86) communicated from his post as the American Minister to London the fact that the Laird Shipyard in Liverpool was only a few months from completing the ships that the Confederate Government contracted for delivery in 1863, and he calculated the imminent threat of eminent danger to the United States of Parliament permitting this privatization of public policy.

Beecher supported Adams and his Minister succeeded with Whig Member of Parliament Lord John Russell (1792-1878), who, appreciating the fact that if the Laird entrepreneurs were not checked in their free enterprise venture they would effectively place Britain in a war posture with America, exerted his influence and succeeded in cancelling complete conformance with the contract. One measure of the significance of their endeavors is the fact that the *Alabama* was secretly delivered to the Confederate States, and the ironclad ram destroyed sixty Union ships before it was sunk by the *Kearsarge*.

Beecher switched from parochial parson to public servant completed his private mission to save the Union in the British Isles, made his personal contribution to protect the national security and interests as well as values, and resigned his moral commission after the paragon of progressive Protestantism won the respect of secular humanist realists and religious humanitarian idealists for the positive correlation of the ecclesiastical and civil powers that deflated the dogmatic doctrine of the absolute separation of church and state and inflated pragmatic value of church and state in civil affairs. After he raised the standards of American Civil Religion on the international stage he embarked for America, where his patriotic performance preceded his arrival.

The father of United States Supreme Court Justice (1902-32) Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.(1841-1935), Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., M.D. (1809-94), heralded the Beecher mission journey. It was a Yankee Doodle Dandy feather in the cap of Beecher to be warmly welcomed home by the Harvard Professor of anatomy (1847-82) and Dean of the Harvard Medical School (1847-53), Boston brahmin and member of the literati, and power elite whose impeccable Yankee credentials included an inherited, ascribed, and achieved Puritan pedigree. Also a distinguished literary figure, who began (in 1857) his noteworthy avocation as a regular contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly*, Holmes hailed Beecher upon his return from England as *The Minister Plenipotentiary* in his January 1864 *Atlantic Monthly* essay.

Like the Puritan fathers, Yankee sons Beecher and Holmes both took "the Devil" seriously enough to publish their interpretation of the prince of darkness and power of evil real presence in reality over and through time. At the same

time that he was a fiscal and social conservative and an intellectual liberal, Holmes wrote in his article that "the Devil" only "got the start of the clergyman, as he very often does, after all."

Beecher received high praise from Holmes who presented him as a professional practitioner of a high profession, gave him high marks for his high profile promise and performance, and declared the Beecher factor the manifest essence in existence of the high principle and practice public servant and service role of the preceptorial Protestant professor. Holmes approached the Beecher British mission and ministry as the lost and found missing link between public interest-advancing authentic Puritan Piety and American Civil Religion ethics, examined and explained the meaning of the public ethicist as the positive correlation of historic Puritan parson and parishioner power politics and public ethics, and assured the *Atlantic Monthly* readers that "in due time" Beecher's British Isles goodwill checking ill will ambassadorship would be appreciated as the model modern moralist "opening the way to future moral embassies, going forth unheralded, unsanctioned by State documents, in the simple strength of Christian manhood."

(Beecher's clergyman-politician initiative during the Lincoln Administration and the response by a member of the illuminati may be compared instructively with the experience one hundred and twenty years later of the Reverend Jesse Louis Jackson [1941-]. Jackson returned to the United States from his June 1984 "unsanctioned by State documents" peace initiative in Latin America (a) to face charges of violating the Logan Act [1799] preferred by Chief Executive Ronald Wilson Reagan, the Republican President and Great Communicator both like and unlike Lincoln who shared values and the policy of deobligation with the Reluctant Emancipator, (b) to be denounced to the public by the President and current rival for the Presidency as well as by the pundits because in his unsuccessful bid to be the Presidential Nominee of the Democratic Party the candidate was in conflict with the Nicaraguan pro-Contra and anti-Sandinistas Reagan War effort that the faceless bureaucrats and technocrats at the helm of the Reagan Administrations directed as the Reagan policy or Reaganized Monroe Doctrine, and (c) to discover no comparable Holmesque defender of his Beecher paralleling Loganesque private and parochial public foreign ministry and mission.)

Holmes elevated Beecher whom he called the class of the Yankees and nearly escalated him into a class by himself, when Holmes compared his contemporary to the Reverend John Eliot (1604-90). Eliot evolved as conventional wisdom's first among equals in the hierocracy of the original Puritan Orthodoxy-practitioners of Evangelical Calvinism and Millennialism, from the time that Cotton Mather, the first public servant, proclaimed Eliot in his biography the only consensus saint produced by the Puritan "Elect of God," select "third race" of "saints," and "chosen people."

With this Yankee jewel firmly fixed in his Puritan crown, Holmes established Beecher as the national treasure (and standard of value) and he could no longer be fairly denied his legitimate claim to American fame:

> So far as he is concerned, it has been to lift him from the position of one of the most popular preachers and lecturers, to that of one of the most popular men in the country. Those who hate late philanthropy admire his courage. Those disagree with him in theology recognize him as having a claim to the title of Apostle quite as

> good as that of John Eliot, whom Christian England sent to heathen America two centuries ago, and who, in spite of the singularly stupid questioning of the natives, and the violent opposition of the sachems and powwows, or priests, succeeded in reclaiming large numbers of copper-colored aborigines.[196]

Juxtaposed alongside Holmes' broad and deep knowledge of New England history was equally illuminating information that either finely honed or revealed his fine point was not sharp enough to bear the historicity weight of his overlarge argument. Eliot was engaged in the mission that demonstrable power of definition prediction and control Boston brahmin Holmes determined to be (unlike the multi-ethnic Native Americans) legitimate "reclaiming" of the Algonquians, driven by Millennium-intensive dogmatic theology and doctrinaire ideology, and convinced that in Indians to whom he ministered on the Natick, Massachusetts reservations he had found the 721 B.C. Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.

Contemporary Calvinistical Evangelical Millennialists believed the precise end of civilization (civilized command and control of the physical universe) when the Kingdom of God will establish eternity to supplant history in time and space was predictable, prophesied it would be preceded by the surfacing in New England of the Millennium (one thousand years of preparation), and claimed the eminent domain of the Millennium was imminent and would commence with the conversion of the Jews.

Comparable to other spheres in which Eliotesque Millennarians and fellow secular and sacred saints and sinners managed reality and made history foraging into the forest of fantasy and forcing fiction as fact on figures who found fault with their facts, the critical imposition of the peculiar Puritan "*Errand into the Wilderness*" of New England by rationalists convinced that they were not simply converting Native Americans into Christians but "reclaiming" Indian Jews for Jews was a watershed revelation.

Indians survived who refused to become deethnicized and deculturalized ethnics, to live under Eliot's protection as "praying Indian" bands bound in fourteen compounds, and to suffer gladly on the reservations.

They set a precedent for colonization whose standards were raised by the English who founded Sierra Leone for the relocation of British West Indies freedmen, the ACS trustees for the American state of the Liberia Colony they purchased as the space in Africa for their expatriation of the native American Black race *raison d'être*, and the European powers evolving as competing colonizing states of the African Continent in the Holmes and Beecher era. The Puritan race-resisting Indian race ethnic groups were punished, whether either banished by Puritan tribalism or vanished--were given short shrift that was surpassed only by the malign neglect of the black slaves,(a Puritan policy which benign Eliot sincerely regretted to late in his life to reverse).

Eliot's compeers in charge of the Puritan hierocracy, Anglican theocracy, and Quaker hierocracy were fellow English race representatives who divided in their polity and united in their policy of deethnicizing and deculturalizing African multi-ethnics. Black African ethnic peoples the English race settlers were permissive progenitors albeit less prolific than their British ethnic kinsmen in their mutual penetration of the Black body they created their Black race-specific cultural kinsfolk.

Their success was primarily due to the slave condition of the Africans, a place of powerless relative to the absolute power corrupts absolutely position of

the powerhouses enabling Englishmen to preempt African ethnics of the genuine alternative Indian ethnics pre-eminently maintained. The achievement was further due to the Moral Law and the positive law of the ecclesiastical and civil powers that were grounded in the Bible. Old and New Testament laws, rules, and regulations for church and state authorities White race/ethnic men in power interpreted as authorizing a negative regard for the real interests and values of Black proselytes.

Whence it is arguable that some Black Americans believed Beecher, as the North American power elite most certainly did who shared values with quintessential elitists like Holmes, and were convinced that in his private-parochial-public performance he was their promise of a presence in the present Union, of a future in history as well as eternity, and the fulfillment of the Puritan-Anglican potential (generalizable in New England albeit universalizable neither there nor elsewhere) for Yankee acceptance of the Black race their Puritan fathers automatically created and spurned (but whom their Black race progeny did not like the Indian ethnics reject preponderantly).

To extent this Black belief was the case, it was due in no small measure to the propaganda Beecher may not have promoted but did little to dissuade. Propagandists created Beecher in their image, the Yankee Puritan "*Errand into the Wilderness*" host in himself, and representative of the mission impossible completed successfully. Unfortunately, Beecher did not succeed "in reclaiming" his Black race kith and kin as effectually as Holmes thought he reembodied English kinsmen:

> They have never listened to a nobler and more thoroughly national speaker than the minister, clothed with full powers from Nature and bearing he authentic credentials from his Divine Master, to whom, on his return from his successful embassy, we renew our grateful welcome.[197]

ANTEBELLUM CLERICAL COMPETENCE AND COURAGE AND POSTBELLUM CRISIS IN CONFIDENCE AND CREDIBILITY

Straightaway, Beecher's star-status as a national celebrity spiraled swiftly to the top of the lecture circuit charts until he repudiated Radical Republican Senate and House Leaders Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Congressman Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, and the Reconstruction Program of the Legislative Branch they directed.

Beecher chose this postbellum posture because he preferred the real interests and values of reactionary, conservative, and moderate Republicans who were forming an alliance to recover the Republican Party from the Radical Reconstructionist Wing, gathering momentum between the mid-bellum and mid-postbellum decade, and gaining ground sufficient to guarantee the short life of this counter-establishmentarian structural change policy enacted and enforced to secure the Radical Reconstruction of the South.

Northern-directed Reconstruction (1867-77) was implemented by Radical Republicans after the White (distinguished from the powerless few Black) Southern Democrats comprising the leadership class of the defeated Confederacy--being granted a near free hand in the immediate postbellum period (1865-67) to exercise self-determination inclusive of enfranchising Black men who either fought with the Confederacy or faithfully served the families of their slavemasters to-

gether with the overwhelming number of pro-Union freedmen--determined civil liberties and civil rights would not be granted to Black male firm friends and foes with the impartiality they were extended newly arriving White ethnic immigrants and emigrants, who were enfranchised automatically upon arrival.

Reverting to type as a role model partisan power politics parson in the twilight between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of Reconstruction, Beecher confused and fused Republican Party and Johnson Administration policy with principle, placed political policy above ethical principle, and cut his principle to fit the current policy. During the fall of 1866 he endorsed the anti-Reconstruction policy of President (1865-69) Andrew Johnson (1808-75) in a letter that pledged allegiance to the former slavemaster and slavocrat transformed Union loyalist who turned against the victors to side with the vanquished, to wit, the post-Confederacy unrepentant Confederate States-revering "Rebels" bent on turning their defeat into a triumph by making freedmen the victims rather than the beneficiaries of the New South through keeping them down and out of the system.

Beecher embraced legal injustice and unjust power because the instituted authority was legitimate, aided and abetted the inextricably bound justice delayed and denied law of the lawful and lawless litigious legalists, and erred in logic and life so publicly until the Christianity and civility walking contradiction in terms of love and justice became a problem of contraries to be resolved for the higher law of conscience than the Constitution collective consciousness who brought their high principle to practice in church and civil affairs. Their perceived public enemy number one and prime subject for correction could not be corrected by the ignorance and avoidance schemes status-empowered people preferred for keeping subjects in their station, such as setting him above or beneath notice, and thus the legend in his own time who had become the leader of legions persisted beneath contempt where he became the object of the anathema secular and religious Northeasterner radicals previously visited upon Daniel Webster.

Editor-in-chief Theodore Tilton coordinated the policy of *The Independent* that opposed Beecher forcefully, and he added insult to injury by refusing to publish his sermons and essays. Forthwith Beecher severed his connection with both *The Independent* and Tilton--who once adored Beecher so completely that he became the darling idol Tilton nearly worshipped as a god--and became editor-in-chief of the *Christian Union* (January 1, 1870). A newly established measurably less secular and more sectarian Congregationalist paper, from its first issue the *Christian Union* grew by leaps and bounds until the circulation reached its peak of 132,000 subscribers in 1873. Paralleling its sharp ascent in popularity among the proponents of middle-class morality and respectability, who reflected the conservative values embraced by the Northern moderates and majority of White (and few Black) Republicans currently regaining their antebellum command and control of the Grand Old Party (G.O.P.), the fortunes of *The Independent* plummeted.

Just as in the perception of Tilton Beecher appeared to take one step forward and two backward steps but not to move beyond his basic progressive transformationism, just so clearly in the appearances of Beecher Tilton resisted retrogression and responsibility for irresponsible progression from a liberal religious humanitarian toward a radical secular humanist. Tilton discovered the new phenomenon of liberals turning conservatives and reactionaries increasing, and to counterbalance the proliferating peril advanced his radical ideologies, ethics, and

politics. These rational methodologies solidified in his irreversible reflectiveness, and added depth to his critical perspective in which he perceived Beecher as to be alternating liberal and conservative but disproportionately unreliable moderate rather than the centrist Moral Reform that his onetime mentor sometimes claimed.

THE CHURCH AND CIVIL TRIAL OF HENRY BEECHER

To the changing mind of Tilton, Beecher materialized as the means justifying the ends rather than the ends justifying the means ethicist whose ethics of expedience and politics of convenience were bound in a lowered consciousness laboring under the stress and strain conflicting theological liberal persuasions, political left and right of center modulations, and fiscal and social conservative principles. In addition to fashionable Beecher's immense popularity, the postbellum swing to the right of the Northern voting majority and Tilton's swift movement to the left of the American electorate contributed to the precipitous decline in the number of subscribers to *The Independent*.

This drastic reduction in circulation was indicative of the reversal in values and reversion to antebellum type, the mainstream movement of Protestant parson and parishioner philanthropists from liberal moderates to conservative reactionaries, and the dilemma Tilton faced with his loss of the Protestant constituency. He was moving to create a profane paper for the churchmen reading public at the momentous turn in American history they were returning to a more sacred mood, and secular humanists were demonstrating little interest in or need for his type of weekly as they placed distance between themselves and religious humanitarians.

At this upturn point in the circulation of the *Christian Union* under the editorship of Beecher, and financed by his the fiscal and social conservative Plymouth Church parishioner, Henry C. Bowen, the downturn in the readership of *The Independent* and reversal in fortunes were the dual difficulties that Tilton struggled unsuccessfully to manage his way out as he skillfully sought to keep the pecuniary predicaments from reaching the tip-point of no return.

Predictably, publisher Bowen dismissed Tilton as editor-in-chief in 1870, whereupon Tilton rebounded to publish his own paper, the *Golden Age* (1872-74).

The feuding lay Congregationalists constituted a classic case of Protestants united in race and religion and divided in status and station by distinctly different preferred tastes and manners, styles and fashions, and customs and morals, which class and classless as well as caste Calvinist capitalists confuse with virtue (*agape*-love the only absolute), permanent principles (near-absolutes), and values (culture-created valuables of relative and exchangeable worth inclusive of marketable and negotiable tender).

Bowen believed correctly that manners go along with morals but incorrectly asserted the equivalence of manners and morals, drove Tilton up against the wall of middle-class respectability, and denounced Tilton's far left politics as offensive to respectable churchmen and churchmen.

Thus it comes as no surprise to learn what Bowen found intolerable was Tilton's tolerance of the pursuit of pleasure principle, failure to deprecate the apparently more appreciating than depreciating value of the new variations on and varieties of civilization-old hedonism, and defense of the *free love* fetish that the chic in-crowd flaunted as the maximize pleasure and minimize pain principal principle of their counter-culture. The radical free speech litmus test

of the free press that Tilton insisted upon struck Bowen as outrageously repulsive, provoked him to initiate a backlash, and precipitated a reflex reaction whereby operating under the influence of impulse he defended his parson and their shared values. Bowen charged Tilton with moving beyond pure thought to experimentation in immoral behavior.

Elizabeth Tilton first informed her husband that she had committed adultery with Henry Beecher and then retracted her confession in 1870. Beecher publicly denied the charge in 1873, but in 1874 Tilton pressed the charge that Beecher was guilty of committing adultery with his wife so aggressively until the parish was forced make him stand trial in a Plymouth Church ecclesiastical court and be judged by a jury of his peers. Tilton's imputed Henry Beecher and Elizabeth Tilton affair had the effect of his earlier allegation that Beecher possessed no ethical staying power.

The accusation stuck because the purported affair involved a parish triangle, it struck the sensational nerve and whetted the curiosity appetite of the people in mobocracy era who loved to watch abolitionist offices as well as newspapers and newsmakers burn in public, and it was reported by a professional investigative journalist who earned his reputation as an archetypal muckraker reporter: Howbeit a conflagration that burst into a flame from smoldering sparks generated by the rubbing of a radical against his liberal idol, whom believed had betrayed his trust by moving with the conservative direction of the social pendulum. The six Plymouth Church prosecutors, judges, and jurors acquitted Beecher of all charges, and the congregation remained his solid supporters.

The controversy did not die but spread sufficiently to tarnish Beecher's parochial image, ruin his private reputation, and delimit his prestige in public affairs.

Then, in 1875, Tilton pursued a civil suit. It was litigated in a municipal court trial that extended over several months, before the prosecution and defense rested their case and the judge instructed the jury to reach a unanimous decision finding Beecher either innocent or guilty as charged. But the jurors voted nine to three in his favor, and effectively rendered no final verdict. The rumor remained as this very shadowy and acrimonious state, leaving a more dark than silver-lined cloud fixed above Beecher's head.

Doubtless the fact that secular humanists treated the rumor as reality, determined Beecher was guilty until proven innocent, and tried Beecher in their press in 1870 before either his church or civil trial was the precipitating cause of this ordeal continuing for five years in the parochial, private, and public sectors.

In the era of the lynch mob their print media execution of the ecclesiarch on the principle that he existed, and of guilt by association, was an difference in degree of character assassination from the intention of the lynch law executioners. Their media hype of circumstantial evidence escalated the presumed illicit relation into sensational news for the most radical wing of the female and male equal rights for women crusade.

It scarcely seemed entirely beside the point and irrelevant to contemporaries that Beecher was as strong an opponent of the Feminist Movement as Tilton was a proponent of suffragettism. As the voice of the establishment Protestant Churches, who spoke to and for the major Evangelical Denominations, Beecher was a perfect target for the piercing arrows of his fierce rivals who accused him of being a major obstructionist denying and delaying the civil liberties of women. Especially active were the White female feminists who, unlike the Black

ones, largely enjoyed civil rights.

The message that Beecher was the medium for media experts to manipulate methodically, and dramatize nationally their cause as a direct effect of puritanical hypocrisy, passed among the Suffragettes from Susan Brownell Anthony (1820-1906) to Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902): the wife of the Reverend Henry Brewster Stanton (1805-87), former nemesis of President Lyman Beecher of Layne Seminary (in Cincinnati) as one of the Rebels who departed following the controversial antislavery debate, onetime evangelist, and current lawyer, who, together with Theodore Dwight Weld and John Greenleaf Whittier, selected the *Seventy* New Abolitionist missionaries of the AAS. When the bad news reached Victoria Claflin Woodhull (1838-1927) she approached it as if it were good news, and promoted the parochial affair into a profane national scandal by publishing the details in the paper owned jointly with her sister Tennessee Claflin (1846-1923)--*Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* (1870-77).

If the exposé served no other useful purpose, its publication early in the brief life of *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* increased the circulation and attracted attention to the female social radicals, made liberal elitists aware (as doubtless no other story could have done so successfully) of the highly controversial paper's policy of promoting free love, suffrage, and socialism, and facilitated notoriety as the initial exclusive of the newspaper that published (in 1872) the first English transcription of The Communist Manifesto (1848).

One other peripheral matter illuminates the relevance of Beecher's religion and race relations in the color caste class crisis. Victoria Woodhull and Frederick Douglass were the 1892 respective Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees of the *Equal Rights Party* (1872), and the first American female and Black male candidates for these respective offices.

Their minor triumph and major defeat proved of greater historical benefit to the interests of the Black race they and Henry Beecher revealed they advanced than Beecher's parochial exoneration, by the officials of the Plymouth Church and the Congregationalist Denomination who conducted two separate and independent investigations, and the non-decision of the civil jury that left the private sector unclear of the extent to which he was a victim of a conspiracy and a perpetrator of puritanical hypocrisy.

LYMAN ABBOTT: HENRY BEECHER'S SUCCESSOR

Just as Theodore Tilton turned against Beecher another young man turned up in Plymouth Church, Lyman Abbott, who would become Beecher's life long defender and immediate successor in his pulpit and press. Lyman Abbott was the son of a theological liberal Congregationalist clergyman, the Reverend Jacob Abbott (1803-79).

Lyman Abbott's older brother--the Reverend John S. C. Abbott--also was an active parson in the Orthodoxy tradition and served in Massachusetts. Lyman Abbott graduated (in 1853) from New York University and entered the legal profession, following in the footsteps of his elder brothers--attorneys-at-law Vaughn and Austin Abbott. He passed the New York bar examination in 1865, married Abby Frances Hamlin in 1857, and purchased a home in Brooklyn in 1858.

During this era of urban evangelism and revivals, Henry Ward Beecher conducted a revival (1857-58) in Plymouth Church--in a traditional pattern reminiscent of his father's exceptional evangelism technique. Henry Ward converted

scores, and three hundred persuaded became members of the Church in the first six months of 1858.

Lyman Abbott was drawn into this regeneration process, and, under the inspiration of Beecher's personal magnetism, wrote his father (July 13, 1859) that he was leaving his brothers' law firm and the legal profession to train for clerical accreditation. He sold his home and retired to the family farm (Fewacres) in Farmington, Massachusetts. There, in the company of his father, he embarked upon private tutorial theological studies whose "New School" Calvinist curriculum and Congregationalist polity course were directed by three Yankee-Puritan stalwarts of Orthodoxy: Henry Ward Beecher, the Reverend E. N. Kirk of Boston, and, Beecher's brother-in-law in Andover, Massachusetts, Professor Calvin Ellis Stowe of Andover Theological School.

The tutelage of these peer-respected Trinitarian Congregationalists skillfully guided Abbott who was a quick learner of the art of theological discretion and ecclesiastical circumnavigation of the evangelism-revivalism booby traps. These Calvinistical mine fields previously exploded in the face of Charles Grandison Finney, the Presbyterian rival revivalist of Lyman Beecher who also entered the ministry (without formal training in an academic seminary) from the legal profession.

Theologue Abbott combined academic study with field work experience immediately, filling the pulpit of the Congregationalist Church of Christ in the village of Wilton, Massachusetts beginning in the summer of 1859: where he was licensed to preach (November 2, 1859); ordained (March 12, 1860); and received and accepted the invitation to serve as minister of the Congregationalist Church of Christ in Terre Haute, Indiana.

Fully credentialed Abbott journeyed to his first demanding professional pastoral office imbued with establishment Eastern culture, and theologically more conservative or less of a social liberal than either his father or Beecher. He had read the biography of Finney and previously studied his *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (1835), the classic textbook for generations of Evangelical evangelists and revivalists, prior to traveling through Ohio expressly to hear him at Oberlin College.

New Yorker Finney relocated at Oberlin and served the Congregationalist institution as Professor (1837-75) and President (1851-65), that New Englanders pervaded and he dominated with the Finneyite school of theology: whose nontraditionalist modification of Calvinism overbalanced predestination with individual liberty, the Finneyite power of choice (freedom of choice or free will) and capacity to affirm or deny the love of God).

Abbott credited Finney for the less Evangelical and more intensely devotional and mystically reverential emphasis in his logic-laced and sophisticated pulpit expositions. As religious rhetoric developed and maintained in separate and distinct compartments from his secular essays, Abbott's sermons rarely (and even then lightly) touched upon the controversial issues of slavery and anti-Black race values that he critically analyzed in his literary articles.

Abbott possessed the razor sharp reasoning mind of a lawyer and superb command of the English language. He combined these talents skillfully with a finely honed rational approach to principles of faith and practical beliefs, and employed his linguistic gifts as precision instruments to make his religious promise turn on a nice point of law. His pulpit performances projected sermonic believability, whose effectiveness was the result of subtle and sophisticated dispassionate and passionate appeals "to reverence, conscience, affections, and especially

hope."

A lawyer turned clergyman, Abbott discovered in Finney--who negotiated the traditional American Calvinistical change in professions from a civil to an ecclesiastical defense counselor thirty years earlier--a model of influence that he respected:

> I am not sure that his quiet controversial method did not have a great effect on my own public style, for before that visit my ideals of oratory had been largely derived from Wendell Phillips, John B. Gough, and Henry Ward Beecher--the first rhetorical orator, the two later dramatic orators. I think it was Dr. Finney who demonstrated to me that one could be an effective speaker without being either rhetorical or dramatic.[198]

Juxtaposed with this experience and his entrance into the clerical profession on the eve of the Civil War, in his third year in the West and the second year of the War twenty-eight year-old Abbott found his Yankee-Puritan Union loyalty overmatched by the Confederacy sentiments of the clerical brethren in his Indiana "Hoosier" community. The Fast Day service (April 28, 1863), in which several sectarian churches united in a Terre Haute ecumenical celebration, left him "heartily ashamed" to confess to his wife that "the word slavery or slave was not once mentioned." But, he further remarked, his address indirectly referred to slavery "more than any one else's, though not by name; it being especially agreed that I should make no reference to any sins by name, lest I should tread on others', but confine myself to the general principle" of speaking obliquely "of the sins of which we must repent." He communicated to his wife the revelation that he experienced during the ecumenical service of prayers for the Union. What befell him, Abbott related, was the distinct "impression"

> that I was the only minister in Terre Haute, and that the Congregational church was the only church in Terre Haute which recognized the existence of slavery.[199]

ABBOTT'S INITIATIVES SPAWN THE FREEDMEN COMMISSION

Eighteen months later, and six months prior to the end of the Civil War, Abbott wrote an essay on Southern Evangelization which was published in the October 1864 issue of the *New Englander*--a Congregationalist monthly review publication located in New Haven. In this article, Abbott clearly stated he was as certain that history proves that religious liberty "preceded civil liberty" as he was sure that the "South now possesses neither." It was inarguable to his mind, albeit entirely inadmissible to the mind of the South, that Southern churches were hopelessly disorganized--and helplessly disbanded.

The rationalist wrote from this experience-free theoretical perspective his perception of reality--whose depth was increased by the creative tension between his objective observer analytical mind and heightened consciousness rapidly expanding his Yankee will and Puritan social conscience. He argued from vicarious knowledge and second-hand information, transposed into descriptive facts projected as empirically verifiable validations of his value judgments, the case for Yankee-Puritans further developing the domestic charity resources of the Congregationalist Church, and establishing a wide variety of eleemosynary

institutions to function as American Civil Religion social redeeming structures in the Southern ecclesiastical vacuum.

Abbott was satisfied that the Northerners were non-aggressors, engaged in a Just War, and achieving the objective of the Union. He was equally convinced that the Southeasterners tempted Northeasterners beyond their strength or capacity to sustain indefinitely their infinite patience. Abbott thuswise compared and contrasted the Southern Confederacy to the New England Confederacy (1643) and the new New England Confederacy: the old Puritan Confederacy that Yankees effectively reembodied to engineer the total defeat of the Confederate Government, and to abolish the slavocracy as thoroughly as the Confederates' forefathers eradicated the power of the Powhatan Confederacy (between 1607 and 1665).

Magnanimity in victory was demanded especially for churchmen, Abbott asserted, since the dead space created by the frontlash of the Confederate Cavaliers and the backlash of the Union Yankees was a death-enhancing South that life-enhancing Northern Protestants should enter as philanthropic surrogates for the Southern Churches whose

> congregations are scattered, church edifices are closed or temporarily converted into hospitals, barracks, and negro schools.

Abbott promoted this prescription to the national predicament that he conceived in perplexity amid a neutral Civil War zone, and one he considered relatively free of complexity and conducive to a sure-fire diagnosis and therapeutic resolution of the intersectional conflict.

With this manuscript the Terre Haute par anticipate the outcome of the hostilities, to direct their discretionary income from the wartime realized profits toward amassing and distributing indispensable charitable "aid from the North," and to assist three peculiarly downtrodden victim classes of Yankee wrath in the South to rise up as beneficiaries of Puritan mercy: (a) first, free and freedmen Black residents, whom he calculated required education primarily and essentially for their fiscally responsible and efficient use of liberty in freedom; (b) second, scalawags and other "poor whites must have free schools and a free Gospel they are to reform their ways and means and ends, specifically regarding directing their political liberty" both away from past "political servitude" and toward responsible "political power"; and (c) third, the relocated Northern emigrants (including real or presumed carpetbaggers) who "stand in no less need of educational and religious institutions."

Harmonizing sacred and profane New England religious humanitarianism and secular humanism, Abbott endeavored to effect a functional connection between virtue or the public interest ethics of Puritan Piety and the moralism vices of Evangelical Calvinism to work as manipulatable ends of a Yankee know-how device. The innovative American Civil Religion variation on the politics of charity for White Southerners and the charity of politics for Black Southerners was a professional mix of guilt and gold, idealism and realism, and disinterested good will and benevolent paternalism. He created in the fusion of power to White folk and powerless to Black folk a profusion of Puritan Piety and Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethics that only a Yankee son of the Puritan wayward worldly saints could call collective grace.

But his poor perception of Black interests was not reality for Abbott and the Protestant philanthropists, who were taking extra precautions in their ap-

proach to the vanquished so as divorce themselves unmistakably from the sentiment that to the victor belongs the spoils. Abbott appealed to their *Nature of True Virtue* and struck the note of pure benevolence, which not charmed the rich Yankees and famous Puritans, rang all the changes on Christian charity, and played the chimes of Evangelical Congregationalist zeal:

> The free polity of the Congregationalists affords some peculiar advantages for this work. For, while the South would give but a surly welcome to Yankee missionaries coming with advertised purpose to plant Yankee Churches, it will not refuse the assistance of Northern capital, and even of Northern ministers who shall proffer to the people aid in organizing their own churches upon the broad and catholic basis of a common evangelical faith.[200]

Two New York Congregationalist clergymen, the Reverend William I. Budington of Brooklyn, and Joseph Parrish Thompson (minister of the Broadway Tabernacle Arthur Tappan and his "Associated Gentlemen" built in Manhattan for Charles Grandison Finney), organized earlier in the year the American Union Commission (1864) as a model agency of American Civil Religion--and Protestant-specific parochial-private-public partnership in post-War philanthropy--through which to channel ecclesiastical monetary and human resources in church and state united postbellum recovery programs.

Abbott's timely, lucid, and concise essay on Yankee-Puritan charity made such a favorable impression upon the corporate officers in the interlocking directorates of the Congregationalist Church that Budington and Thompson were encouraged to invite him to serve as the executive secretary of the American Union Commission. Abbott accepted the challenge to direct a national rehabilitation program from his home base in New York City.

As he proceeded across the country to Manhattan in April 1865, Abbott paid his respects as he passed President Abraham Lincoln's funeral cortege proceeding in the opposite direction. Synchronously with his arrival to take up his responsibilities in the new post, Abbott settled upon three administrative guidelines for the American Union Commission (AUC).

First and foremost, the AUC would be distinguished from the sectarian Denominational Freedmen Societies (whose Protestant Church varieties were remarkable variables and fierce competitors as Evangelical rivals) and the Federal Freedmen's Bureau (1865-72)--which opposed because "emphasized the difference between the freedmen and the white refugees"--by its ecumenical principle and nonsectarian rule of uniting all regional, state, and local subsidiaries of every Protestant persuasion into one undifferentiated Evangelical national organization: one committed to the absolute policy of treating Black and White Southerners fairly and equitably, and totally without regard to "distinctions of race, caste, and color."

According to the second standard operating procedure, the AUC would stimulate the "growing good feeling in the North toward the people of the South"--particularly forming a structure to channel the sentiment toward securing, "on a basis of liberty and justice," not only social and economic relief for the South but also the constructive civil and cultural reformation of the Southern Way of Life.

And the third but not leastwise less pivotal procedural rule determined the AUC would "secure the cooperation of the South" in creating what Abbott en-

visioned as the "new South": a goal he aimed to attain through making a special effort to enlist White Southerners who (became known as scalawags because they were the only ones that could or) would "welcome Northern allies."

LYMAN ABBOTT'S IMMORAL COLOR-BLIND RULE

RULES BLACK RACE INTERESTS OUT OF ORDER

Abbott managed reality with his professional administration of these three enacted and enforced AUC organizational laws, rules, and regulations whose essentials were expressly (i) federating Protestant Freedmen's Societies, (ii) enlarging Northern supportive resources, and (iii) expanding Southern cooperation). Abbott evolved as the quintessential professional ecclesiastical bureaucrat and technocrat with these rational organizing principles that were rigidly fixed priorities, held in this precise hierarchal order, and implemented Protestant power instruments.

They guided his idea of an ideal mission of mercy ecumenical corporation through the maze of more than a dozen local non-Denominational affiliated subgroups (interallied with Denominational Freedmen's Societies) to the formation of the AUC as the only parochial-private-public national organization for the relief of Southern civilian casualties of the Civil War. Abbott was firm in his conviction that the only way to benefit the postbellum South was through a Protestant "non-sectarian and non-racial" organization of Evangelical professors.

In line with this ecumenical religious humanitarianism, great pains were taken by Abbott to affirm the rational rule of law entailed rational rules and regulations and to deny they were no less rigid for being rational rules of engagement when ruled in order by rigid rationalist rulers of the power game.

He proved the rational rule of law was the rational rule of lawyers, the law of logic to be the life of the law or ruler of law and life, and the logic of the lawyers to be based on the false premise that law is ethical because it is rational and legal: whereby they posit as axiomatic truth the error that law is justice and vice versa (there is justice in law and law in justice) automatically.

The Abbottesque rational rule of law and rational rule of reason rationalized far reaching right and righteous reasons, including his most controversial and consequential principles of justice.

Abbott's doctrine of fairness and equity was a riveting American Pragmatism derivative of British Utilitarianism (the greatest good of the greatest number), whose utilitarian uniformity essence manifested a calculated greater quantitative than qualificative rule when the principles are in conflict in the class and caste cultural crisis.

Fair and equal treatment translated into identical measures of shared values and interests, with which idea and ideal of impartiality he dominated the middle ground which he thought was high ground as he advanced his equity principle that required Black and White folk to receive mathematically equal grants-in-aid. In short, to each according to their identical experience and therefore same needs (whether indeed equal experience and needs extended to equal abilities) was the Abbotesque needs-blind principle.

And Abbott publicly expressed his greatest pride when he published his belief that the blind-to-the-power-needs-of-the-freedmen AUC was the only nondiscriminatory Freedmen's Aid Society. Predictably, therefore, his logical mind persuaded him that anti-Black race values, advanced by pro-White race and ethnic

advocates in the North and the South, could be neutralized and reduced to a harmless presence of intractable ignorance if his principle of avoidance were practiced preponderantly.

He revealed his invincible ignorance religion and race relations rule when the litigious litigator subsequently related why and how he advised his contemporaries that "the way to ignore distinctions of race and color was to ignore them," as he quoted himself in the twentieth century to counsel citizens to follow his nineteenth century rules.[201]

REALISM OVERRIDING IDEALISM RULES REGULATING LYMAN ABBOTT'S LIBERALISM

Emerging as the peerless Protestant liberal within the ranks of the power elitists, Abbott championed this traditional Puritan method of social control that up-to-date Yankee rationalists refined into the high art of treating the unwelcome Black presence as an invisible indivisible body, in the expectation its absence would follow apace. This attitudinal and behavioral mechanism, formulated to fix a fashionable social order, operated on the principle of hyperexclusivity. His antebellum antiabolitionist Congregationalist brethren did not succeed but failed to isolate proabolitionists through their deployment of their hyperexclusion instrument.

Thus it was not astonishing that he revitalized the process in the postbellum era, and declared super-hyperexclusion to be infinitely superior to the principle preferred by the "radical abolitionists," to wit, facing pro-White race/ethnic proponents as perpetrators of anti-Black race values. He denounced the postbellum "radical abolitionists" for persistently insisting upon taking seriously the permanency of permeating anti-Black race interest. But Black and White Radical Reconstructionist Republicans' credible ethical analysis eclipsed Abbott as the modulating liberal Congregationalist escaped the charge of being a "Consistent Calvinist" conservative.

Preferring the Black-race positive negation and negative good pole and polar opposite of positive attraction and positive good, Abbott was certain he was in command and control of the polar opposite extremes extended to Black folk respectively by antebellum and postbellum establishment Evangelicals. They were like and unlike as they shared power and values, being sincere and serious in the deliverance of deterrence-benevolence they at once confused and equated with positive good or securing pro-Black race real interests and values, and ending as they began in a profound contradiction while synchronously converging and diverging in a continuum whose dynamic contraction and expansion recurred cyclically throughout the centuries of American culture.

(Abbott's postbellum promise and performance style and substance was more precisely paralleled ,than repeated in the reaction to the 1950s Civil Rights Movement by the 1960s Silent Majority. Their frontlash combined with the backlash of the Moral Majority in the 1970s and 1980s to produce the experience of whiplash that Black folk scarcely suffered gladly. These complementaries occurred as spin-offs of the 1860s, during which Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction crises Abbott accused the "radical abolitionists" turned radical Republican Reconstructionists of reverse discrimination.)

Parson Abbott identified himself as part of the solution and denied he was part of the problem he need historic pro-White race/ethnic to be, especially in their role as perversionists of antiblack white-ethnic virtue into the pro-White

race/ethnic virtue that they professed to be pure and simple pro-Black race virtue. Abbott was a formidable figure in the ever-changing middle-class morality and respectability wall Black folk were constantly driven up against, but this was one fact that he dismissed as sheer fiction. And the notion that he advanced from the nineteenth into the twentieth century the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century progressive standpattism of the establishment churchmen, who thought they were called to stabilize the status quo by permitting exceptions the perceptive leadership knew both produced flexibility and guaranteed the rule, Abbott easily rationalized as a pure prevarication.

Abbott implicitly affirmed as a Congregationalist what the Puritan to Yankee mainstream morality of expediency explicitly declared pragmatic and therefore realistic ethical rules of procedure and behavior. They asserted that for Christianity and civility advocates to expose and oppose the casting of the color class both in caste and bondage cultural chains and outside the civil community contradictions of the Constitution invites defiance of the rule of law, sets universal liberty of each individual over general order of every sovereign states, and amounts to a cure that is worse than the cultural malaise since the prescription for disaster insures anarchy in a tyranny-checking state of freedom that guarantees the pursuit of happiness.

Consensus centrist conservative conservatives claimed conventional wisdom in determining neither justice (impartial fairness and equity) nor love (securing the best known possible right and good) but only ethical error inheres in proposing and promoting social structural systems changing corrective action to end society-wide positive negation of the deethnicized Black race by the intensive White race/ethnic-offensive. This argument was advanced even though the continuum of cautious consciences were conscious that these uncivil acts took the form of increasingly sophisticated systematic methods and systemic processes, were directed by culture determiners acting for or as the legitimate authorities in power to insure the repression of the color caste/bondage class in democracy's slavocracy, and perpetuated separate and distinct but mutually fertile Southern segregation and Northern discrimination.

Complementarily, the power elite's same reasons argued the arguments for belief that it is always wrong social policy in principle and practice to design and administer special public programs for the (only deethnicized American group and therefore) truly disadvantaged Black race: howbeit the excellence ethics experimental theory and experience in reality manages not to set the Black body at advantage over the intensive ethnic minorities forming the American majority but provides the Black race equal access to opportunity, and to increase preponderantly rather than to diminish precipitously the public treasury of real and true interests and values.

These certainties and realities explain without explaining away the pertinent point: when at long last Black folk were released from the most systematic and systemic human bondage in history they were met and measured by Lyman Abbott's neither value-free nor value-neutral but needs-blind distributive and retributive justice, mathematically even needs and supplies, and rule of equity. With this Abbottesque litmus test of fairness, whose central unity and uniformity principle resulted from his fusion of British Utilitarianism and its American Pragmatism derivative, Abbott distinguished himself as a liberal realist from contemporary radical New Abolitionists and Republican Reconstructionists for whom *agape*-love (advancing the best known possible right and good interest of the enemy) and justice (securing the legitimate claims to power participation

and representation along with productive possibilities including the civil liberties and civil rights of Colored citizens) commenced with creative conducting of the positive strengths and compensating for the negative weaknesses that are socially-conditioned and manipulated factors that powerful cultures superimpose upon individual race and ethnic groups as well as persons to exploit nature in history as a means of achieving their real interests.

Countermarching Abbott emerged a highly representative power elite figure and evolved in relation to the reliable Reconstructionists he found revolting revolutionists an obverse unreliable obstructionist realist, whose conservative, moderate, and liberal switches reflected his changes of the open opportunity principle and open door policy to ones that were no less effective for being selective affirmative action and preset access through automatically opening and closing doors to limited equal opportunity.

Abbott reverted over time to the monoracial myopia perspective Yankees inherited from the bequeathed Puritan bifurcation of reality legacy as certainly as he appeared to reverse the profane and sacred rule of reason and reasonable egalitarianism objective of the biracial Radical Abolitionists and Reconstructionists, to determine the quality and quantity of love and justice by applying the secular humanist accuracy and correctness rather than the Christian being right and good litmus tests, and to turn legalistic as a litigator chief executive officer (CEO) of an enterprising and ecumenical eleemosynary corporation who raised the Evangelical Calvinist ethical standard of moderation.

This Golden Mean as the Golden Rule transmogrified principles wherein justice was equated with the literal letter of the sacred and profane positive law (of the Bible and the Constitution as interpreted by strict constructionists), and love was equated with the spirit of sameness whose symmetry subsisted of uniform religious and secular distributive benevolence.

According to these Abbottesque ethical subjective means guiding the objective ends of logician Abbott, who was into his power and orbit as a masterful White magic (reason) counterbalancing Black magic (experience) magician, the biracial pluralism and egalitarianism promoting postbellum Black and White Radical Reconstructionists who dedicated themselves to the "work of relief and education among the freedmen" and the antebellum radical New Abolitionists who rejected the demanding equalitarianism of monoracial monism and antiabolitionism priorities so highly prized by the antebellum Trinitarian Congregationalists were both wrong and in error in failing to accept the monistic and monoracialistic principle and practice together with the monetary policy Abbott recommended.

Abbott commanded Christianity and civility conscientious consciences "to ignore all distinctions of caste, race, or color." Color-conscious advocates and adversaries of the color-blind "Consistent Calvinist" conservative liberal were called off base in demanding that the American Union Commission publish for the public its private and parochial principle of equal opportunity without regard to "caste, race, or color." Abbott either wittingly or unwittingly paralleled the administrative style Lyman Beecher adopted following the 1834 antislavery Lane Seminary Debate, whereby he declared open admissions both the principle of the theological school and one the institution would not publish.

When questioned as to whether or not his AUC Commissioners were advised to administer nondiscriminatory missions and obeyed the rule, Abbott first turned rational rhetorician to appropriate the rationalization reasons of realism, then turned up the clever logic of convenience and policy of expediency Lyman

Beecher used, and finally refused to "declare they did so."

Abbott's fellow parson and parishioner interlocking directorates of the private and parochial Protestant philanthropic corporations surfaced at once strongly and naturally unprepared to admit that pride and prejudice plus prerogative and privilege were more but not much more than merely understandable base motivations checking the worth of their principal principle that consisted of total commitment to avoiding controversy. They advanced their public service as public servants dedicated to the preservation of their noncontroversial collective conscience, corporate character, and philanthropic principle, policy, and program.

The ecclesiastical entrepreneurial executives of cooperative free enterprise and voluntary charitable corporations adopted the posture of nonpartisan and noncombatant officers of politics-free and pacifistic eleemosynary institutions. To facilitate in the postbellum this restyled old fashion neutral (antebellum antislavery/proslavery) stance, CEOs implemented their long-established standing operating procedures including the time-honored rule of non-disclosure of their ethical premises, principles, and processes.

Whence structured in unassailable rationalization as solidly as their organizations resisted invasions of their right to privacy including infringements of their parochial and private association rights, especially as they were engaged in public affairs but not accountable to the public, establishmentarians managed to negotiate their suspected hidden persuasion and deceptive policy through suspicion-rife social environments.

In charge of Denominational public interest-directed parochial and private charities, parson and parishioner Protestant philanthropists paraded their morals as models of the White ethnic individual constituent element of secular/religious-democracy and sacred/profane-capitalism as well as of sacrosanct church/civil Evangelical Protestantism. Precisely as the American standard of value and American Civil Religion leaders their Radical Republican Reconstruction critics counterclaimed that they overemphasized individual rights and individual responsibility, and understressed community rights and responsibility while providing evidence through their Church-Congress-Corporation collective proving their claim, to wit, in any serious cultural choice and especially when a culture is in crisis the conflict between individual and community rights and responsibilities must be resolved in favor of the ultimately higher priority of the latter general interest that takes precedence over all special interests.

REALIST RACE RULER AND REALITY

RULING REALISM AND RACISM RULES

The significant social effects surviving the rational intentions and consequences of Abbott's calculated mid-bellum and postbellum results-specific public ethics thought and action can be overestimated and underestimated. They cannot be erased as easily as they can be chalked up on the blackboard to the earnest and honest endeavors of a bright but brash thirty year-old clergymen-CEO, basically because his nineteenth-century views were confirmed thirty years later when he was a twentieth century Protestant presence.

Abbott recalled and recorded for history, with equal measures of satisfaction and validity, that his AUC enabled approximately one hundred thousand Black and White dispossessed residents to locate housing and gainful employment by 1865: before the AUC merged with the American Freedmen's Union Commission

(AFUC) to form the American Freedmen's Union Commission (1866), and he was elected to direct the newly incorporated philanthropic society.

In this connection, there follows a conclusion drawn from an analysis of the Abbottesque public principle and practice, that is no less an arguable bottom line for being an odd and even peculiar because an objective participant observer or analyst with a subjective objective and methodology can be found to take objection to this contention: In the total scheme of the multifarious post-bellum projects, and the many variables within these varieties of Reconstruction plans, Abbott's nonsectarian AUC and AFUC produced statistically significant less resources than the massive amount of fiscal and personnel support amassed by Northern Denominations (compared to the relatively unimpressive contributions generated by Southern Churches).

The schools and colleges created by his Congregationalist Church (primarily by her A.M.A. chief Domestic Mission agency), and by the Methodist Episcopal Church, surpassed in number those established by their sister Churches. Nevertheless, Abbott clearly contributed singularly to the development of the South by challenging individual and institutional members and friends of his AFUC to finance four hundred and fifty-eight of the fourteen hundred and thirty Northern teachers in the South during the fiscal year 1866-67.

Complementarily, when Abbott's agents reported in 1866 that parents of Southern White race and ethnic pupils refused to permit their children to attend with Black students the biracial schools established and staffed by the AFUC, the demanding dynamic of anti-Black race interest was publicly exposed and promoted as the operative priority value in his social principle: "to exclude a child from a free school because he is either white or black is inherently wrong."

Abbott promptly responded to the report of massive resistance to biracial education with a ringing declaration of freedom of choice and freedom of association as the new policy principles of the AFUC. In the memorandum he issued, detailing the change of the rules of right to the rules of realism, the chief executive action officer directed his field commissaries to adhere strictly to the law and order mandating noninterference with Black and White parents determined to exercise their perfect right to segregate and discriminate in private and parochial as well as public life.

Abbott insisted upon fighting foes and friends who refused to preach and practice his perfection is the best policy principle, that is, to defend to the death and to secure in life the indiscriminate or discriminate segregation of the different races' members of the same gender and opposite sex exercised individual choice and personal preference of private citizens who demand public protection. In the process of pressing the people to place this principle near the apex of their highest priorities, Abbott revealed that conservatives continued check liberals and to balance liberalism with the brief and limited cultural change constituent cerebral core of classic conservativism. In fact, he disclosed that this continuum not only concentrated his mind but penetrated his liberal bent so pervasively it was reshaped into a conservative form and function.

Proof positive proceeded apace the litigious litigator's argument that freedom to discriminate and to segregrate inheres in the freedom of association guarantee of the Constitution, and ancillary of this corollary perforce which the class and caste compartmentalizationists' right to be wrong is one right that is more than a privilege if less than a duty or responsibility. It is, the Northern defense lawyer for the Southern plantiffs argued, legally and therefore ethically (wheth-

er or not appropriately) insisted upon even by exercised claimants seeking to enact an enforceable law ensuring the opportunity of White and Black parents to enroll their children in "schools of their own choice" (the Abbott code term for separate educational facilities) that are composed of "mainly companions of their own race."

If this Abbotesque unilateral law and order premised on British Utilitarianism and American Pragmatism was promulgated by the realist as a dysfunctional disintegration deterring instrumental value, and functional expedient means and method of achieving convenient ends, his dogmatic pragmatism and pragmatic dogmatism either established or followed a precedent no less patently than they proceeded as earnest and honest motives from sincere intentions to serious consequences such as reinforcing driving anti-Black race interests.

Doubtless he could argue successfully that he was a Yankee-Puritan exponent of the tradition's Golden Mean (that liberal and moderate Congregationalists no less than cultural conservative "Consistent Calvinists" frequently confused with the Golden Rule), and therefore he could not be engaged in a compromise of principle. On the contrary, Abbott averred effectively, he had negotiated for the good of the civil and social order a change in his AFUC's policy, procedural rules and regulations, and values. Irrespective of his justification by faith in reason, the rationalizationist had reversed his biracial education rule and formed a monism movement of monoracialialists counterbalancing the commitment of Radical Reconstructionists to biracial egalitarianism and pluralism. Abbott demonstrated that like Unitarian Congregationalists the Trinitarian Congregationalist Realists (Substantialists) were divided into Dualists, and into Unitarians or Monists.

The Abbottesque affirmative action and equal opportunity at once affirmed the worth of monoracial monism and denied the value of biracial diversity for the enrichment of American unity, whose mistake was the apparent error of arguing that the choice was the greater of two goods instead of merely avowing that it was the lesser of two evils. Following a commissioned cost/benefit analysis of superimposed integration in the Southern public schools established and supported by private and parochial Protestant funds, the bottom line calibration calculated that forced integration in these private academies was cost-prohibitive and therefore an unrealistic standard of moral idealism for the innovative experimental education model.

Posthaste Abbott re-examined the guidelines of his experiment in loving to learn and learning to love, in the perspective of an optimist turned pessimist far less exactly than of a idealist turned realist, and apparently analyzed the arguably cost-effective Northern discrimination convention for its surrogate potential. Consequently, in his irreversible reflectiveness, the refashioned and reduplicated Yankee convention and Puritan invention of select private hyperexclusion and parochial discrimination or public segregation of the elect was refined, re-embodied in his Black race positive negation design, and reinstated as the medium of grace to embrace the Southern doctrine of separate education.

The old Puritan turned new Yankee and New South unequal mix of moral error and evil materialized in that act of creation the liberal North and conservative South perfectly matched pair of English race champions, whose revitalized Puritan patrician and Anglican aristocratic style and substance engaged the Northern precedence of racism so nicely that the class of color caste constraints became an instant real alternative. Abbott revealed he had the courage of convictions near the beginning of the end of his career, when he reflected

on how near the end of the beginning of his rise to power the Southern Way of Life changed his New England Way of Life far less than his rules of the game. His politics of race and race of politics were the ying and yang of Puritan race religion that Yankee power elite proved as they approved and disproved of the continuum. He wrote for the record in his *Reminiscences*:

> These letters were among the first influences to charge my opinion respecting the desirability of the the co-education of the races. These are reminiscences, not political philosophy; but it is legitimate to take this occasion to say I no longer think it is inherently right that no one should be excluded from a school because of his color. Co-education of the races, like co-education of the sexes, is simply a question of expediency; and experience early demonstrated that it was not expedient to attempt co-education of the races in the Southern States. Justice demands that equal--not necessarily identical--educational advantages be offered to both races and to both sexes. It does not demand that they should be afforded under the same roof.[202]

THE LYMAN ABBOTT JUSTICE DELAYED AND DENIED DOCTRINE OF FAIRNESS

As much a Protestant power elite as a social liberal exemplar, Abbott absolutized the relative when he baptized the value of the near-absolute principle (justice), and relativized the absolute and only virtue (*agape*-love). A professor of the obligation to love (or to actualize the best known possible right and good interest of God and the neighbor-enemy together with one's own), the onetime professional lawyer rushed to law he equated with justice and duty to elevate enforceable duty above the pure voluntary obligation of *agape*-love.

All the arguments were not on his side, but the ecclesiastical lawyer knew all the facts as incontrovertibly as he understood that for civil authorities and conventional wisdom duty entails always obeying the law because they believe that the law is justice.

Despite his asserted equivalence of legal and ethical enactments, Abbott's fully developed appreciation of church and civil wrong and right laws extended to complete comprehension of the consensus definition of justice, namely being fair and equitable. The counselor apprehended justice as a principle in the Protestant perspective, and found its true and real measure to be the public decisions of jurists reached after being engaged in neither making law nor correcting bad law but adjudication of precedents, or correct and accurate interpretation of past rulings according to current standards of legality, whose Constitutional law and rules, are regulations determined legitimately and ultimately by the opinions of justices appointed by the partisan politics President of the party in power.

Abbott evolved a moderate, switched slowly yet surely back and forth selectively on special issues from a liberal left to a conservative right of center Christian social ethicist, and wrote to certify that in rational thought and action he was an engaged centrist. He emerged in a accord with the bargainer or honest broker role of the high principled professional politician and tradeoff bargaining rule of the American system, that is, an approached revolving around the certainty of change or constancy on different matters depending on their

determined relative importance in a given moment.

Being a parson protestant or an alternately nonpartisan and partisan pragmatist was one thing, but turning a negotiable value (freedom to segregate) plus a near-absolute principle (freedom of choice) into an absolute (right to be wrong) and rigid principle (right to discriminate) was quite another thing for the realist. Inarguably, the sacred dogma of impartiality and profane doctrine of fairness comprised the power principles of Abbott's American Civil Religion. They were verifiably improved precision devices whose capacity to maximize efficiency and minimize costs were instrumental values of estimable worth for White beneficiaries and Black victims.

1866 was the postbellum year in which the self-confessed compromiser of principle and conflict of interest manager made his concession to advocates who equated pro-White race/ethnic real interests and values with pro-Black race real interests and values. In this year, and his dual capacity as CEO of the AFUC and editor of its official paper, the *American Freedman*, Abbott wrote an essay to validate the anti-Black race interest policy of the secular and religious civil order-directed AFUC, whose virtues he extolled as the American Civil Religion standard of Protestantism and perfect private-parochial-public partnership model.

His audience was invited to appreciate the dual sacred "charitable or eleemosynary" and profane "politico-economical" nature and function of the AFUC. He suggested this assessment was best achieved through comparing the total absence from this powerful presence of any meaning and purpose that might be construed as advancing the real needs of the freedmen, namely, the inextricably intertied partisan party power politics and participatory democracy means and ends to equal access to "politico-economical" opportunity or pro-Black race true and real interests and values.

Abbott pressed his point in the essay by referring indirectly to "Consistent Calvinists'" persistent rule of arranging order above freedom in the hierarchy of priorities, and directly addressed the double damnation rather less precisely than the double indemnity beneficiaries' equally consistent insistence upon a double standard subsisting of different Black race and White race laws. Their two sets of rules entailed setting rights above responsibilities for White folk, and responsibilities above rights for Black folk. They were unwittingly elucidated by Abbott as he explained the AFUC's stated policy regarding the central cultural crisis matter, to wit, enfranchising Black Americans.

The liberal realist approached the heart of the matter by asserting that representation in the republic and engagement in participatory democracy were natural rights for White men, and once temporarily yet widely gained but even more generally lost privileges for Black men whose civil liberties and civil rights should not be denied but delayed. In fact, Abbott wrote without fear of flying in face of other people's rights, the Black male should again be granted the franchise only after the "developed manhood" of the Black body evinces sufficient responsibility to shoulder the burden of citizenship. If the Black man enters the body politic prior to the class reaching Abbottesque maturity, persuasive and persuaded Abbott asserted in his endeavor to counterindoctrinate the unpersuaded, the Black male will neither share values nor countermeasure disvalues nor otherwise compete successfully with White male party power politics partisan conciliation or confrontation Janus-faced compeers but "only increase the power of Southern demagogues."

In the mainstream of the Puritan continuum, and located on the main street of Manhattan as a mainline New York Yankee, Abbott moved deliberately in the

color-conscious South and North with all the care and caution of a conscious conservative or (by definition) a cultural determiner primarily unconcerned with advancing pro-Black race true and real interests and values.

He also most certainly was synchronously permissive regarding the rights and responsibilities inherent in the nature and existence of a White ethnic individual, selective in stretching the natural self-determination right of the White male to an earned privilege for the Black male, and directive to the point of permitting the Black man equal rights over and through but in time before eternity after the color caste class proves its ability to assume responsibility.

Whence the Abbotesque dialectical theory and experience of reality illuminated the abstract great certainty and concrete current idea that he dismissed as unrealistic idealism: There is no artificial way to secure universal natural rights and responsibilities from human bondage to liberty in freedom, secured universal natural rights and responsibilities is the way to self-determination.

ALL BLACK SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN PARTY

AND ALL WHITE NORTHERN UNION LEAGUE

At the moment in history when Black clergymen-politicians could not rest in peace, because Abbott and his Northern and Southern Christianity and civility advocates of the color-discriminating Constitution permitted the preemption of their Black brethren of the cloth's real interests and values, Abbott died entirely satisfied and absolutely convinced of one certainty: Black men in the South were structured by nature, created by nature's God, and conditioned by human culture too ignorant to be trusted with voting rights.

His AFUC pioneered the coordination of cooperative endeavors between nonsectarian Freedmen's Societies and the also Yankee-Puritan founded and short-lived Freedmen's Bureau: The agency of the Federal Government, administration of amelioration, and inspiration of General Oliver Otis Howard (1830-1909) that survived unofficially three years beyond its official existence (1865-69). Both of these church and state enterprises officially terminated their operations in July 1869, but completion of prior commitments effectively extended the suspended private and public bureaucracies.

Their dissolution was less the cause than the aftereffect of sectarian and aggressive Denominational Freedmen's Societies. Whereas these Protestant Domestic Mission societies were not an afterthought, relative to the major achievement of the Freedmen's Bureau the aftergrowth of the Evangelical philanthropies compared favorably with the nearly exclusively parochial and private deterrence-benevolence measures emphasized by the Halfway Piety Churches in the antebellum era.

Mission-minded messengers' postbellum reversion to antebellum anti-political religious humanitarianism, save for their partisan parson and parishioner Prohibition Party power politics, exposed the pro-Black race interest dilettantism of sacred and profane establishmentarians.

Unwillingness to share power with the Black male was matched but not surpassed as one of the few shared values of the White male religious humanitarians and secular humanists. Perchance this poor posture of the powerful in relation to the powerless left neither churchmen nor nonchurchmen more absolutely blameworthy or praiseworthy than Black men were abandoned, whose class was vulnerable to the capricious whims of pro-White race/ethnic easy bedfellows in

the North and the South.

The Republican Party in the South died at the hands of the Republican Party in the North and entered the dying stages when the majority of liberals and conservatives united as moderates, consolidated the swing from the extreme left to the far right as the reactionary wing and took over control of the Republican Party from the radical wing upon the settlement of the negotiated *Hayes v. Tilden Compromise*, and turned out Radical Reconstructionists as decisively as they returned command of the Party to the rabid anti-Reconstructionists who denied they were reactionaries and claimed to be nothing more or less than centrists. Their recovery of the traditional middle-of-road concentration on keeping the delicate North and South balance of power, and the pro-Reconstruction and anti-Reconstruction "sacred balance," resulted in the death of the Republican Party in the South that they believed was essentially a manageable loss at no cost of the expendable Black Republicans.

Black Republicans were viewed as a lost cause, calculated to be teeming masses comprising massive liabilities and imperceptible benefits, and considered neither a tolerable nor an affordable luxury but an excludable Black mass of obsolescence. Forthwith they cut their losses and ties by cutting and running, abandoning the Republican Party in the South and the Radical Republicans whose hegemonic powers effectively ended with the demise of the Freedmen's Bureau, and joining the critics who denounced the Radical Reconstructionists carpetbaggers and likened their Black Republican Party in the Southern States to a corrupt city political-machine.

The Republican Party that these Radical Republicans formed in the South was essentially the achievement of the Union League (1863-69). The new Republican Party in the South initially encompassed a majority of Black Northerners and Southerners, and a minority of consistently of more White Northern carpetbaggers than White Southern scalawags. The influence of the Northern White minority over the Black majority was no less real or more important than the comparable relation between antebellum Black and White New Abolitionists of equally independent minds and interdependent coalitions. This correspondence was of pale significance compared to the fact that White Republican Radicals shared power as imaginatively as they shared values with their Black male compeers.

As pro-White race/ethnic advocates of anti-Black race values were sharply diverging from Black males to secure English race and British ethnic real interests and values at the expense of their Black race-specific kith and kin, White Radical Republicans were converging pro-White and pro-Black real interests and values in the Republican Party. They structured it to facilitate the enfranchisement of the Black male freedmen, whose positive good ethics was no less excellent for simultaneously serving their mutual interests and generating greater advantages than disadvantages for both Black and White Republican males. The civil rights and civil liberties Black males fought for on both sides of the Civil War were gradually retrieved from restrictionists in 1865, won in the Reconstruction era, and retracted in 1877. The memory of their empowerment for a single decade would endure for ten decades as the criterion of citizenship, standard to reinstate, and chief objective of the self-determinationist Black leaders to whom the liberating mainstream Black community leadership mantle was passed by the liberationists who were led from the antebellum through the postbellum or Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction decades by Frederick Douglass.

Black Republicans demonstrated initiative and competence as they competed with White Democrats. Their leadership was imaginative, impressive in the number of singular contributions creative politicians made to the newly organized post-Confederacy States, and developing until it was checked by irrepressible and irreformable resistance. But it was scarcely because they were largely led by Black lay churchmen- and clergymen-politicians--in an alliance with White Northern nontraditional and nonestablishment members of the major Churches--that Black Republicans in the Reconstruction era failed to become the legitimate authorities in power, authority, and control of any state legislature. Black race inferiority and White race/ethnic superiority was the claim defenders of the Southern Way of Life made but did not prove as the class of Southern White gentlemen aristocrats, parvenus, and proletarians.

White males who dominated the Democratic Party in the South no where demonstrated they possessed the grace and capacity or resolve to share power with Black Democrats or Republicans that approached the tenacity of their determination to frustrate Black politicians with non-cooperation and to undermine the good faith efforts and credit of the Black representatives elected by a constituency Democrats refused to enfranchise.

What the righteous reactionaries made so transparent as to be unmistakable was their capacious faculty for rationalizing as right and reasonable their preemption of self-determination, perpetration of dehumanization, and promotion of anti-Black race interest principles, priorities, and preferences as pro-White race and ethnic real interests and values. Pursuant to satisfying their insatiable anti-Black race desire, whose power hunger drives and needs were fed by vicious vindictiveness disguised as fear of Black victims, White Southern Democrats reacted violently to the Freedmen's Bureau and Union League whose Federal Government securing bureaucracies and bureaucrats they imagined would inevitably succeed in defeating the post-Confederacy real interests of the Confederates, as definitely as antebellum proabolitionists failed to foil the real values of proslavocrats, if in the total defense of the Southern Way of Life the anti-Black race interest advocates delivered less than massive resistance and nullification of Southern Black citizens' civil liberties and civil rights.

Pro-White race and anti-Black race interest dedicated secular and religious White Southern Democrats refused to straightforwardly challenge Black Republicans on their merits, in the marketplace of ideas, and in the free and open public arena or let the Black and White electorate decide in the voting booth. Instead of meeting the Freedmen's Bureau and the Union League as firm foes and formidable opponents in the democratic process, and managing their contraries in the "one-man one-vote system" rather than resolving their differences by Democrats eliminating Republicans, the vanquished turned on the victors to snatch victory from defeat by punishing carpetbaggers who took the system by conquest and attracted not only the majority of Black freedmen but also a minority of White scalawags.

The embarrassed and deeply disturbed body of dyed-in-the-wool Confederates--rising to the occasion like a proud but wounded and therefore all the more dangerous lion--approached Northern Republicans in the South as real friends of Black Southerners who thereby had to be the permanent enemies of White Southerners. These victims turned victimizers violently violated the Black body and space to achieve their great ambition, which included ruling the Black citizenry out of civil order by reducing their electoral power to an irreducible minimum. Pursuant to realizing the chief objective that centered in restricting

Black citizenship to a fraction of the electorate, and actualizing their will to power through securing a severe reduction of Black voters whose difference from sheer extinction appeared a difference without distinction to the participatory democracy direct actionists, the sacred and profane Southern traditionalists formed the consensus behind their leadership and sustained their attack upon Black leaders and followers by the self-fulfilling prophecy inherent in calling the clergymen-politicians and laymen-politicians a crisis in competence, confidence, and credibility.

Irrespective of the overpowering odds--and unmatched errors of conception, perception, and deception--Southern Black citizens proved to be far more responsible legislators, on behalf of the entire body politic of each state, than unctuous and censorious White Southerners appeared credible to the objective and perceptive independent investigator who reported fairly their relentless cruel and unusual contempt for the democratic process. For their own dramatic purposes, White Northern males tolerated the deception and rationalized as natural and therefore reasonable the perception is reality perspective managed and marketed successfully by aggressive White Southern Democratic leaders of the Democratic Party in the South: They protested that Yankees were adding insult to Civil War injury, taking advantage of the vulnerable vanquished to create unfair competition, and driving to the depths of further disadvantage the nearly all-White Democratic Party in the region, also known as the "solid South" partly due to the previous absence in the section of a Republican Party, by establishing the nearly all-Black Republican Party.

The Northern power elite who transformed these sour grapes into the sweet and beautiful truth, and transmitted the error they elected not to either correct or erase, were neither philosophically or theologically nor psychologically or ethically prepared to admit and appreciate their knowledge of the Black male promise and performance in partisan party power politics. Black *realpolitik* hardball players never obtained total command and control of the levers of power, but Black politicians wielded real political influence responsibly preponderantly during the decade of Reconstruction. Their success rather than their failure was the cause and effect of the retaliating rich and ragged.

Color caste class competitors contributed and contradicted the culture determiners, who defined the Black body an inferior relative to the superior race members of the species, declared the Black race could not meet the "survival of the fittest" litmus test or the competition in the struggle for individual existence and for race survival, and predicted the Black race--that they did not wish to compete and therefore precluded from qualifying for the competition--would rapidly decline and disappear in history before eternity. Consequently, their color caste class cousins were a conscience and Constitution crisis whom conscious Yankees managed as their Puritan guilt with goods and gold that Calvinists called grace, and guiltless and shameless but frustrated Cavaliers charged a user's fee for existence whereupon they became so skilled at mugging reality that they developed the craft into a fine art.

THE AGRRESSIVE LYMAN ABBOTT LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATIONISM

In April 1867, at the end of his tenure as CEO of the dissolving AFUC, Lyman Abbott received an invitation to lead a small and struggling Manhattan Methodist congregation. He accepted upon the condition that the members con-

sent to reorganize as a Congregationalist fellowship. The congregants voted his wishes and to adopt as their official name the New England Church of New York City. Concurrently the literary editor of *Harper's Magazine* (1868), Abbott coupled these responsibilities with free lance writing for religious periodicals and the publication of several books.

Additionally, Abbott edited the *Illustrated Christian Weekly* for the American Tract Society (1823). As city editor-in-chief (1871-76) of the *Illustrated Christian Weekly*, Abbott realized his life-long great ambition and became what he proclaimed proudly: "something of an autocrat." Resigning the office to take advantage of new opportunities, forty-one year-old Abbott joined sixty-three year-old Henry Ward Beecher as co-editor (in September 1876) of the Christian Union, expanded its *Outlook* column, and acceded to the post of editor-in-chief when Beecher resigned (in 1881). Abbott was elected to succeed Beecher (following his death in 1887) as senior minister of Plymouth Church.

The previous year Abbott was one of the auditors in the auditorium of the predominantly Yankee New England Society of New York to whom Henry Woodfin Grady (1850-87)--the Athens, Georgia native and American journalist--delivered (on December 21, 1886) his celebrated new version of the recurring cyclical theme in an address that he entitled *The New South*. Editor Grady of the *Atlanta Constitution* doubtless considered his Northeastern touring lectures for New Englanders a *quid pro quo* if not an entirely fair exchange for the 1879 gift he received from Yankee industrialist Cyrus West Field (1819-92) that enabled him to become a principal owner of the *Atlanta Constitution*.

Publisher Grady's major Manhattan mission was to confirm the convictions of Yankee capitalists regarding the wisdom of the ten year-old Northern Republican decision to commence the post-Reconstruction era by returning control of the South to Southern Democrats, and thereby solidify the reconciliation of Northeastern and Southeastern establishments.

Grady succeeded with this logic-laced regional religion and race relations, lecture in breaking new ground for Abbott, who followed in lock-step the ground breaking lecturer as he fell in line and the deep and dangerous bottom from the top of this ethical slippery slope. From this depth of moral suppression the rationalist underwent his self-conversion from a liberal's liberal to a conservative's conservative for religious traditionalists and a moderate's moderate for secular realists or profane pragmatists. He wrote a decade later to document this self-initiation in the rational right and *rite of passage* ritual in his June 12, 1890 *Christian Union* essay:

> The negro problem must be worked out by the negroes and the white men of the South with the aid of the North, not by the North or the Federal Government over the heads of the negroes and the white men.[203]

This post-Reconstruction argument turned on a North free of the *American Dilemma* contributing the same supplies to serve the very different needs of the powerful White and powerless Black Southerners, entailed aiding the color caste class with charity and cash instead of clout and power, and paralleled uncannily the precise pro-gradualist and pro-Colonizationist attitudinal and behavioral modification advice and counsel antebellum antiabolitionists proffered. Abbott took pride in his comprehensive knowledge including knowing everything there was to know about the Black race, and had good reason to claim he compre-

hended completely the "public sentiment." As an editor in Manhattan, Abbott continued the initiative Henry Beecher exercised in his leadership of two Moral Reform movements, one emerging in the first and the other in the second half of the nineteenth century, the conservative American Civil Religion liberal Social Gospel.

The non-identical twin faith and ethics halves comprising the essential whole of Protestant religion advanced with the Social Gospel: the public ethics (principles and practice) complement of the parochial faith, the Christian socialism of postbellum Northern Protestant public ethicists, and the nearly power politics-free and economics-intensive social change process of liberalism.

As a Social Gospel liberal, Abbott endorsed the "nationalization" of the American Telegraph System in 1882, backed the Federal regulation of select industries monopolized by the Robber Barons, and supported capital against labor in the Pullman strike of 1894. However progressive a Northern theological, political, and fiscal liberal, compared to regressive Southern moral, fiscal, and social conservatives, Abbott's cost-conscious approach to democratization managed to produce a sophisticated rationalization with impeccable logic that constrained in doctrinaire liberalism and thus delayed and denied biracial egalitarianism. Abbot's sagacious deterrence-benevolence was directed professionally, and so effectively until this efficiency ethical principle did not diverge from but converged with the pro-White race/ethnic real interests and values of the secular and religious Northern and Southern power elite.

He also shared values with the clerical class at the helm of the Evangelical World Alliance for the Protestantism replacement of Catholicism as the hegemonic ecclesiastical power in command and control of the Christian Church Militant and Triumphant throughout planet earth, who correlatively believed the nineteenth century to be the Protestant Century. Thus when parson Abbott was officially and formally installed (on January 16, 1890) as the senior minister of the Brooklyn Plymouth Congregational Church by some twenty-eight clergymen, in the appearances the mace bearing sectarian clergymen projected the image of ministers marching in a Protestant coronation. Perchance an additive measure of meaning inhered in another symbol and sign, as their participation raised the standards of American Protestant consecration celebrations and set a precedent in their formal role as representative Church officials in this remarkable ecumenical installation.

The clergymen celebrants constituting a panoramic panoply of the national celebrities in the American Protestant parthenon, and a cavalcade of stars who represented the major (Baptist, Congregationalist, Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Reformed) Protestant Denominations, included (from Boston) Congregationalist cleric Edward Beecher and Episcopal priest Phillips Brooks. Churchman Brooks currently stood out as a great man who was not past his prime but at the top of his form near the point in time of his elevation to the episcopacy. His election to the bishopric occurred just three years before his death and the end of a long and productive career.

During his postbellum professional years, Brooks was the widely celebrated successor to Unitarian Congregationalist Theodore Parker and Trinitarian Congregationalist Henry Ward Beecher as the national Protestant standard of ethical excellence

. Abbott certainly designed his ecumenical Protestant installation celebration to symbolize his liberal theological posture, and to serve as a public statement of his hope for the rapid growth and development from sectarianism toward

ecumenism of American Protestantism whose history included well-known serious and frivolous but preponderantly rancorous divisiveness--generated by sincere theological rivals yet counter-productive fierce faith foes and competitors in the proselytization race. He looked forward to being a catalyst in the development and expansion of the Evangelical World Alliance of diversity in unity and unity in diversity into the Protestant Church challenger of the Roman Catholic Church for hegemony of Christianity and civility as the capstone of their so-called Protestant century.

The rationalist was on a roll reversing the rolling stone record of the religious right empowered by his Moral Reform principle and practice movement and advancement in theory and reality from optimism through pessimism to realism premises and principles and practice. The progressive transformation and revelation pragmatism process rationalized the change from Calvinist justification by faith in the righteousness (Jesus Christ) of God to Christian justification by faith in reason, human linear progress in history and civilization from immoral man and society to moral man, and the possibility of improving the human being condition and history as well as culture. Henry Ward Beecher was a hard act to follow, as a professional micro-engineer of efficiency techniques and manager of men who were themselves corporate board chairmen, upon the creative American Civil Religion and Social Gospel initiatives, but Abbott was bent upon contributing further innovative developments to these pioneering Beecheresque public interest-related church and state interconnections.

In this mirror major in minor measures post, as the role model major prophet for the minor prophets determined to make principle profitable for profit-making Protestant philanthropists, Abbott accelerated the pace with which Plymouth Church escalated into a paradigmatic urban-suburban institutional church and rational organization. With this message and methodology engaged in Protestantism's foremost institutional church--located on the cutting edge of the center of the central metropolis and consensus cultural soul as well as capital of the American political economy at the turn of the century--Evangelical Calvinist Congregationalist Abbott promoted rational theology and ideology as fashionable liberal faith and Social Gospel ethics.

At least as early as 1901, the year of the dragon clansmen and terrorists in the Southland during which he revisited the South as an antiterrorist, Abbott was the perfect host for the contagious Northeastern and infectious Southeastern color prejudice cultures, an equally potent sacred and secular society carrier and prolific cultural malaise transmitter of chaste caste and Christian charity as the permanent civil condition for the color class and Christianity and civility criteria, and full of charitable accolades for his White Southern Calvinist cousins and other Protestant relatives, brethren, and friends. Cautious and careful not to criticize or chastise Grady and his fellow moguls for demanding the rule of law while managing to tolerate the lawless rule of men and not to condemn the mobocracy or to convict the lynch law-enforcing mobocrats, Abbott chose to write and publish in 1901 an article in which he essayed to compliment the new "New South" for changing from a theocracy and slavocracy into a democracy.

His congenital Yankee myopia and Puritan bifurcation of reality handicap affected his vision as he praised the vanquished turned victors and victimizers of the true victims, and congratulated White Southern Christian ladies and gentlemen leaders of the ecclesiastical and civil powers for being lawmakers in the land of the church and state lawbreakers. In the appearances of the lynch mob-

challenging Black leadership class, these Southern Way of Life cultural determiners were neither terrorists nor antiterrorists but executive action officers whose permissiveness had the effect of being a permit that terrorists took for a license to lynch the Black body on principle, in public, and as expert executioners engaged in securing the status quo civil order and death-enhancing chances of the Black race. Alternatively viewed as not heretics but heroes and heroines, Abbott assured his readers that the establishmentarian White over Black Protestant Southerners were modern model moralists ensuring far more life-enhancing chances for Black folk than complementary exemplars in the North.

WHITE LIBERAL CENTRIST LITIGATOR FOR THE BLACK CONSERVATIVE MODERATE COUNSELOR OF COLORED FOLK

The self-acclaimed philosophical and theological liberal comparative culture critic selected as his authoritative intersectional criterion, and standard measure of the difference between functional and dysfunctional social service, the productive work and public accomplishment of Booker Taliferro Washington (1856-1915). This was a natural choice since Puritan Yankees created the White and Black man one body of conscious conscience difference without a distinction, the palliating pale pair their chosen Christian civil cousins whom they called out of the cultural closet, and Washington Abbott's clone classic Calvinist conservative for whom being catholic meant Protestant philanthropists contributing to cautious change of the color caste class condition.

Due in no small measure to Abbott declaring Washington a national treasure, the influential Baptist laymen and founding President of Tuskegee Institute (1881) was widely appreciated as a national value and declared by the White power (though not universally acclaimed by the Black powerless) elite the spokesman for the Black race.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868-1963), the Black American who was no more a Puritan or Yankee than Washington even though like Abbott he was a native son of Massachusetts, joined the New Englanders in conferring national leadership status on Washington following his *Atlanta Exposition Address* (1895). Eighteen hundred and ninety five was the pivotal year in the Black community when their consensus (a) intellectual, Du Bois, earned his Ph.D. degree from Harvard, (b) leader, Frederick Douglass, died, and (c) politician, Washington, had the leadership mantle thrust upon him by White power people. But eight years later, and two years after Abbott revisited the South, Du Bois published his change of mind regarding the real worth of Washington, whom, in his classic interpretation of *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), he denounced to the public a protégé of puritanical hypocrisy Puritan prototypes and Yankee Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethicists.

In stark contrast to the Du Boisian bad news and good news, the "manhood suffrage means manhood first and suffrage afterwards" 1903 value judgment and Social Gospel according to Abbott was published and promoted as the American standard of ethical excellence. Abbott issued this moral norm at the climax of his Richmond, Virginia address to the Sixth Annual Conference for Education in the South. Therein the voice of the Northern power elite liberals declared their policy of continuing the suspension of the color caste class' civil rights and liberties sound sense and the counterpositive position of the liberators nonsense, argued strategies and tactics as clearly as he obscured his arguments from silence, and posited as an axiomatic the unexamined premise that in delaying he

was not denying self-determination.

When compared by contemporary critics to Du Bois, Abbott made more liberating sound than sense as he struggled unsuccessfully to prove conclusively that the complementary social conservative and moderate components of his liberation-limiting liberalism consisted of idealism-checking realism that made the liberal superior to the inferior liberationist, pragmatism a virtue and radicalism a vice in a crisis of values, and progressive transformationism legitimate and a fitting constructive engagement rule for strict constructionist interpreters of church and state civil consciences, constitutions, and laws.

Abbott executed expertly the delicate fiscal and political cost-effective and cost-prohibitive balance of power rule of ruling cost-conscious conservative pragmatists and conscious-caution liberal realists. These rulers shared reverence for limits that entailed demanding limited distribution and unlimited production of wealth, whose intensity matched their social health and welfare limiting proclivities that was exceeded in passion only by their commitment to cancelling the color caste class' civil liberties and rights. Abbott left no reasonable White citizen to doubt his mastery of rationalization were surpassed in depth and power by little or nothing else than his opposition to universal and unconditional immediate self-determination:

> No man has a right to govern his neighbor who has not the intelligence and conscience to govern himself.[204]

The *New York Sun* reported (on July 5, 1903) the Fourth of July missive Abbott released with the force of a missile the previous day--the "African race" is "at present inferior to the Anglo-Saxon." Rather than Abbott's racist value judgment emitting the clear ring of color caste class common sense, conscience, and courage, Abbotesque realism (rational racism) and racism (rational realism) sounded little sense. Yet while the color caste class score did not make music, it made law conscience but not conscience law as positively his measures added great words to his figures and the greater sound of music to his descriptive facts.

They played in Peoria just after the Victorian Age of imperialism when European powers were completing their colonization of Africa, howbeit these Continental flesh and blood characters were perceived as either/or both phenomenons moving with the irresistible force of the Ku Klux Klan Imperial Wizards in these principalities were and representative powerhouses of the prince of darkness preponderantly by the apperceptive elite. But in the original Los Angeles (1902) and Pittsburgh (1905) American motion picture theaters, the Abbotesque figures began to appear to the masses as visual images exploding across the wide screen upon which their silent moving pictures were projected.

The power-avoiding gospel according to Abbott was heard as bad news by Black males and females bearing the good news of pluralism as power-intensive politics and principles, who were unable to escape scot free from the terrorists because antiterrorists like Abbott were busy with higher priorities than securing the life and limb of the Negro whom they abandoned to the whims of the capricious consciences, and the class of the South who matched the class of the North for being unreliable guardians of Black Americans' legitimate claims. Black folk remained vulnerable to the arbitrary who heard the medium is the method and determined perception is reality, but did not stone messenger Abbott whose message they disliked intensely. One reason why the Black leader-

ship class chose not to focus on the liberal was obvious: his law and order gospel differed insignificantly in its consequences from the daily ugly word preached in church and state by religious and secular civil authorities, received as good news by bad news White folk for Black folk, and disseminated as widely as it was spread with sheer delight abroad (throughout the South) and at home in the *New York Tribune*.

The Abbottesque more perfect union of Northern and Southern pro-White race/ethnic promoters of anti-Black race real interests and values rejoiced in Abbott's elaboration of his illiberal pontifications. The selective strict constructionist interpreter elected to approach the Constitution as a static rather than a dynamic document in this matter of color caste class civil, and argued that simple justice and equality is anything but the litmus test of the civil equity and fairness doctrine of the sacred instrument: because the Constitution confers voting rights automatically on the White male and not the Black male as certainly as it fails to grant universal suffrage to all American inhabitants who have reached their majority and pass the enacted and enforced local politics qualifications for exercising the franchise.

Abbott journeyed from Manhattan to Massachusetts, where his affirmative action and equal opportunity rule of evenhanded acceptance of anti-Black interest laws and rejection of self-determination for the color caste class were rationalized in Boston's Tremont Temple so logically that the Bostonian auditors welcomed his new Protestant Proclamation (of February 22, 1904). In this declaration he bid fair to out-Channing Channing and to out-Lincoln Lincoln, whose respective religious (1840) and secular (1863) Emancipation Proclamations were issued with so many strings attached that Black folk were left bound and tied in a bundle of contradictions which were knotted with boundless conditions for not only good measure but also to secure the national interests and values.

Specifically in the matter of whether being able to vote is a privilege or a right and a responsibility as a well as necessity for the citizenry in a representative democracy, Abbott also was right in what he affirmed--all White and Black male contemporaries are enfranchised--and wrong in what he denied, the universally enfranchised Black male who can pass the voter qualification tests cannot commensurately exercise the franchise:

> Any man can vote, black or white, if he can read the English language, owns $300 worth of property, and pays his poll tax.[205]

THE REACTIONARY WASHINGTON AND RADICAL DU BOIS WHITE LEFT AND RIGHT CHOICE

Several months later in 1904, after Abbott asserted as truth the erroneous equivalence of universal enfranchisement and the right to exercise in order to rationalize the greater White male knowledge and wealth and greater Black male ignorance and poverty as the only reasons why the Black male class is disproportionately precluded and excluded from the franchise, Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919), the American steel magnet and philanthropist, whose name is as synonymous with the class of "Robber Barons" as the names Lyman and Henry Ward Beecher form a symmetry with Protestant philanthropy and puritanical hypocrisy, sponsored a conference for Black leaders in the South.

Ostensibly the Southern leadership conference was organized to permit Booker Taliferro Washington and William Edward Burghardt Du Bois to bury their

differences along with their common clansmen enemies. Essentially, however, during this convocation Washington Du Bois demonstrated their conflict of interests and different principles, wielded these sharp personal and ideological differences like hatchets, and buried them in each other's body of thought. They distinguished themselves by their entirely opposite commitment to being engaged instantly unconditionally and universally in partisan party power politics, participatory democracy, and electing representatives to secure their legitimate claims and real interests in fair and equal open competition with fellow citizens of the republic. The sharpest imaginable difference surfaced also regarding not only the nature and meaning but also the value and purpose of Black race unity through respected internal diversity rather than uniformity for the improvement and advancement of competitive Black folk existence amidst external adversity. Their non-negotiable conflicts of interests, upspringing from counterpositive premises, principles, priorities, and processes were set in concrete commitments to alternative theological and ideological secular and sacred theories of Americanization. The challengers for the title of world-class champion of the color caste class were competitive contenders from their various constituencies for the varieties and variables of the constituent elements comprising the Colored community. They understood the Black body to be neither invisible nor divisible but one visible and indivisible whole race that is greater than the sum of her individual parts, including the primary people members who comprise an equally vast and dispersed diverse array of persons.

Whence these color caste advocates and class adversaries were synchronously united in opposition to accepting as correct and not correctable the consequences of the culture-created custom code, whereby in ethnic-dominant America the deethnicization of the Black race redounds to precluding each and every Black race-only member from becoming an individual like White and other race/ethnic Americans. The permanency and fluidity of the unique deethnicized Black race condition, that cancelled competence and courage by dint of casting the color caste class in an indiscriminate outcaste station without status, constituted realities whose certainties were debated in order not simply to check and balance but to reverse the rule of the exception: ruled in order by rulers plus the intensive ethnic minorities who comprised the American majority and thus the rule of the majority ruling party. Leadership was initiated in this struggle with power by the powerless liberal Du Bois (fast becoming a radical) and moderate Washington (typically alternating unreliably as a reactionary and conservative public servant).

Du Bois represented the Black intellectual elite challengers of Washington--whose far greater following by the Black masses was empirically verifiable. He attacked the presumed Washingtonian preference for elevating the numerical majority at the expense of the able and productive creative minority. But Abbott did not follow suit and class rules in this class over caste power game even though he and Du Bois reached maturity after being born and bred in "Massachusetts Yankee" communities dominated by Calvinist Congregationalists, and shared experiences as Northeastern-trained professionals in whose environment Abbott received his *bona fides as a* lawyer and clergymen and Du Bois earned a Harvard Ph.D. degree. Thus what remains far less obvious than it appears is the reason why the liberal deterrence-benevolence rationalist, who denied his benevolent paternalism enveloped brutal benevolence, shared values and interests with conservative moderate Washington.

Since Abbott emerged a first class Puritan-logician and Yankee-rhetorician

revisionist as well as demonstrable up-to-date Calvinist empirical rationalist, and a member of this class is by definition a litigious litigator whose powers of rationalization cannot be overestimated easily, it would be the height of folly to underestimate the capacity of Abbott to reason, predict, and control the viable options in the process of protecting his interests and securing his values. Hence quite like the antebellum antiabolitionists who proclaimed themselves antislavery rather than proslavery moderates and managers of reality or traditionalists, it most difficult to determine whether Abbott was a closet conservative or whether he was a liberal conservative.

This is inarguably the case for many obvious reasons, not the least of which inheres in the given systematic ways and means of systemic structural change permitted by the American pragmatism system of give and take, whereupon a true believer in stabilizing gradual change rather than the status quo supports the radical because his/her conflict with the reactionary provides the tension that produces the desired deliberate speed imperceptible shift and change; the middle-of-the-road real alternative for conventional wisdom; and the consensus Golden Mean that is not the Golden Rule but nearer to it than the alternative route; whereas concentrating in and dominating the middle ground strongly supports the static right and undercuts the dynamic left.

Irrespective of how far-sighted or near-sighted the sometimes short-sighted apperceptive legalist was in fact, and whether or not the correlation between his conscious intentions and consequences was more positive than either he or his contemporaries suspected, Abbott neither approached nor appreciated Du Bois as well as he understood and preferred Washington. He found Du Bois blameworthy and declared Washington praiseworthy: essentially because Washington was an economic and political, theological and ethical, legal and social conservative idealist and opportunist like himself.

An original American realist in religion and race relations, Abbott inevitably followed Protestant capitalists in viewing Washington as a Black and White model modern moralist, and tolerable standard deviation from the norm of American pragmatism. This perspective advanced rather than retarded by Abbott's depth perception of Washington as a respected Christian layman, especially because he negotiated a compromise of principle and managed to sacrifice his measure of virtue (*agape*-love) on the real interests (and utilitarian relative values) altar of expedience and convenience.

Du Bois appeared the Great Barrington, Massachusetts native son of a Wednesday's Child (full of woe) White father and Thursday's Child (has far to go) Black mother they created neither an European ethnic nor an African ethnic but a Black race American in his fatherland. He figuratively and literally sprang from her womb a Monday's Child (fair of face), grew as reared from religious humanitarian roots into an idealistic youth, developed perspective after being weaned on optimism in stages as he passed through adolescence shaped by two years as a student at Fisk University (1865) and transferred to Harvard, and quantum leaped as a secular humanist scholar in the American center of rational empiricalism-based social science.

Du Bois emerged an academician in the South after graduate study on the Continent and with his graduate degree neither a pessimist nor a cynic but a skeptic whom experience in all Congregationalist-founded colleges, including Atlanta University (1867) where he currently served as a professor, taught to be suspicious of Calvinist Congregationalist and Baptist dogmatic pragmatists and pragmatic dogmatists in their role as complementary White and Black benevolent

paternalists. They shared power methods whose progressive transformation process placed a premium value on rigidly structured and narrow-focused strict constructionist interpretations of color caste class conditions.

And Du Bois faced the truth--that he struggled to change--that the high priority perspectives promulgated by the Abbotts and Washingtons took precedence for the dictators of the Black Power proletariat and the White Power elite over his doctrinaire ideological approach to their shared values; different subjective and objective intentions and consequences as well as interests and purposes; and strikingly sharp differences in methodologies. He understood this conflict of interests resulted in stiff competition and stronger confrontation than cooperation prospects; opposite direct objects and subjects of objective and subjective means and ends; and polar extreme ways and means to achieve the rational moral development of each American individual, optimistic political and economic progress, and democratic social idealism.

Du Bois was driven by the multiracial egalitarianism rational organizing principle, and Abbott preferred the monoracial realism and monistic pragmatism principles practiced by Washington.

Washington was appealing partly because he was as stubborn as Du Bois and as rigid as Abbott in obstinately refusing to compromise these principles that he mistook for permanent ones whereas they were negotiable values, managed gradualism to overrule immediatism, and demanded less than immediate and unconditional universal civil, political, economic, and legal equal access to competitive opportunity for the North American Black race.

Abbott embraced Washington as an appreciating in practical value realist and pragmatist while deprecating Du Bois as a depreciating in functional worth liberal moral idealist turned radical, who turned out a revolutionist demanding the rational and radical rapid end of monism and hyperexclusivity and beginning of pluralism and equalitarianism.

Congregationalist Lyman Abbott disclosed in his choice of change agents the postbellum reversion of his New England-concentrated Denomination to her antebellum preponderant preference for the stabilization of anti-Black race interest. This reckless postbellum express also road the rails in reverse paralleling the nearly derailed antebellum train of antiabolitionism-proabolitionism and antislavery-proslavery neutrality, that proceeded full speed ahead until it reached the treacherous terminal and was terminated by the secession of the Confederate States.

As the Federal Government advanced toward the declaration of war with all deliberate speed, the Northern proslavocrats switched from the slavocrats' rails of slavocracy to the antislavocracy tracks laid by the antislavocrats, shifted into self-acting protectionists of the Union, and changed to post-War philanthropists before they reverted in the post-Reconstruction years to their teetering economic and political conservative and tottering Social Gospel liberal counterbalance of the Radical Republican Reconstructionists. In this ministerial mission and angel of mercy role, the cost-counting missionaries delivered even-handed deterrence-benevolence to Black freedmen and brutal benevolence to White Southerners on a safe and sane percentage basis.

Anti-Black race interest was rationalized so logically by Abbott that the distinction between perception and reality was lost in his alternate generation of the compelling power of love and force of evil. Apperceptive Abbott and his power elite contemporaries in the North managed to know and miscalculate the new "New South," that revolved around securing the preemption of universal

self-determination for their color caste cultural cousins, no less absolutely than they underestimated the serious slavery commitment and ultimate concern of the slavocrats and Confederates. Obviously their real interests prevailed and were served in the antebellum and postbellum decades as clearly as the Abbotesque Protestant perspective and conventional wisdom accepted constructive engagement with the Southern Way of Life as the best possible policy for ending democracy's dehumanization-rife slavocracy to mobocracy continuum, and beginning to extend democracy to Black race competitors of their White race combatants.

Certainly Abbott was too good an ecclesiastical and civil lawyer to misunderstand the cultural custom law, church and civil positive law whose rules and regulations were enacted and enforced Constitution rulings, and thus the conscious conscience of the litigator proceeded from better legal than ethical reasons to ever-stronger promises than performances. Of course, just as Calvinist capitalists converted parishioner and parson Protestant philanthropists were in power and authority as interlocking directorates of more parochial and private than public corporations, just so incontrovertibly Abbott's success did not wane but waxed because he was the paragon of virtue and vice whose rational implementation device subsisted of the liberal faith and Social Gospel ethics moving middle axioms.

Abbott did nothing to impede the progress of the dialectical and paradoxical rather more than ironic capitalism capitalized and corrected Social Gospel movement. It rapidly expanded as theological and ideological Christian Socialism as essentially a response of religious humanitarian sectarians to a specific form of secular humanism secularists initiated, namely the social science Marxists-Leninists crystallized as scientific socialism.

The varieties of their Social Gospel variables and variations were spin-offs from American Civil Religion created and directed by Protestant clergymen committed to immediate and universal conditional Black race equal access to opportunity and the unconditional and immediate universal utilitarian union of science and religion, partisan party power politics-free and economics-intensive entrepreneurial capitalism modified by democratic socialism (labor as well as capital and management producing and accumulating wealth but concentrating on securing fair wages together with equitable distribution of the goods and services among the working-class producers and consumers of wealth), and evolutionism counterchecking revolutionism as the moral means to measure the merits of pro-White race/ethnic values and the worth of anti-Black race interests.

Whether or not they found the missing link between pro-White race and pro-Black race true interests depended entirely upon their discovering the connective linkage between the power political and economic interests of White ethnic and Black race as directly as they determined scientific knowledge positively connected and disconnected the social redeeming values of Social Gospel religious humanitarians and secular humanist social engineers.

WHITE-RACE LIBERAL SOCIAL GOSPEL FOOLS (FOR CHRIST) GOLD RUSH BOON FOR WHITE-ETHNIC AND BUST FOR BLACK-RACE LABOR

As the early twentieth-century representative liberal, who spoke for the parson and parishioner Protestant philanthropist power elite, Abbott possessed ample motive, means, and opportunity to lead in enlightened engagements the elected representatives of the White Southern Protestants whom he respected because they were legitimate authorities. Abbott's first-hand knowledge and exper-

ience validated the statistically significant facts and figures he accrued as editor-in-chief of the *Christian Union* and calibrated to calculate the civil condition of the color caste class.

Abbott's daily updated and analyzed data left no reasonable rationalist either to question seriously why or any reasonable doubt that Black Southerners were taunted and exploited by self-styled Southern racists following the lead of Governor (1904-08) James Kimble Vardaman (1861-1910) of Mississippi and Senator (1895-1918) Benjamin Ryan Tillman (1847-1918) of South Carolina.

Every *realpolitik*-conscious citizen knew they were unsurpassed White Protestant directors of the Southern Way of Life and convention whose invention precluded the preponderance of their Black brethren from voting, included the protection of White ethnic who secured the exclusion rule rulers ruled law and order through violent intimidation and physical coercion of color-specific characters, and rationalized as realistic the no less real lynch law for being a culture-created custom code rather than a civil-enacted positive law. Abbott stayed satisfied amid the terror, and deafening silent screams of the lynched (as if the Black body falling in the woods was an academic matter for debate analogous to whether or not a tree that falls in the forest makes a sound if no one hears the crash), that direct action to correct the capricious cancellation of color caste citizens by either the Three Branches of Government or the Church and Corporation in cooperation with the Congress was neither necessary nor appropriate.

Whether necessarily or whether inevitably it followed in his logic and life that it was not the business of the Federal Government to be the appeal of last resort and engaged in binding arbitration efforts to resolve the competing White race and Black race legitimate claims that were due essentially to conflicts of real interests that made negotiable on demand enduring values and near-absolute principles like securing the life, liberty, and limb of human beings. Complementing this public statement of opposition to the United States using force to liberate the vulnerable Black female from the rapacious White male, Abbott revealed his moral alternative to political power when he prayed for preyers and appealed to the "conscience and sense of fairness in the people of the State."

Arguably a heightened consciousness of the death of Henry Grady if not of his new New South provided the deep background and deeper perspective in which Abbott perceived Booker Washington's meteoric rise from slavery to freedom. Washington's minor triumph compared to the major defeats suffered by the Black race proved precisely the individual exception to the rule Abbott required to confirm his optimistic belief in the progressive human improvement of the body politic.

His perception of reality was consistent with the static pro-gradualism principle that he and his fellow antebellum antiabolitionists directed to countercheck the original New Abolitionists' abolition of slavery and anti-Black race values dynamic twin demands. This legacy Abbott inherited as a Yankee-Puritan leader among the establishment clergymen was fully developed anti-Black race virtue, even though he did not believe himself to be fully endowed with status quo progressive standpattism, excited by stabilizing order through securing a steady state of animated suspension, and charged with this law and order doctrine of the theocracy and democracy advanced by antebellum Congregationalist reactionaries, conservatives, and liberals.

Apparently these were neither irrational nor irrelevant self-respecting value judgments, since, wearing the disguises of a liberating agency and a progressive

professor of protective custody, Abbott frequently returned to the anti-Black race interest haunt of Yankee-Puritans to revitalize them during the crisis of the post-Reconstruction period. In this flexible mood and mode Abbott and Du Bois materialized two distinct Congregationalists advancing equally sincere intentions and serious consequences together with means and ends whose differences in degrees amount to a degree of difference so great as to be a different kind of immediate purpose and ultimate objective. In this perspective, Abbott was a revelation of pure Protestant principle, power, and prestige.

English race and British ethnic peoples' representative appropriated Old and New Testament ruler role to themselves, which they extended to nearly all other individual persons and races comprising the human species. From the English settlement of North America White race/ethnic individuals were absolutely certain of two things: the Bible is a personal liberty and individual freedom document, and Christianity is an antislavery religion. The question of whether or not the Bible and Christianity were also proslavery instruments--exclusively ordained by God for the double damnation of the Black race and double salvation of Puritan saints and other White but not the Black Calvinist "Elect" to secure and to extend their real interests and values--was answered in the affirmative and rapidly emerged as a logical argument of rationalists who were bent on extending the European powers' interests by fashioning the fashionable theoretical rationalization to justify the uncontested superior force they superimposed upon the Black (not White South) African ethnics.

Straightaway, in an historically unprecedented and unique performance, the Continental powers transported the Black African ethnics from the Old to the New World, transmogrified the Black African multi-ethnic groups into one deethnicized Black race-only people, and transformed their progeny human bondage in perpetuity. In the process of this translocation from the African Continent and transubstantiation of free Africans to a captive people by English and British settlers in North America and subsequent deethnicization specialists, this White race/ethnic critical imposition advanced from a question of power and authority into a problem that turned into a singular issue.

They argued the arguments in lieu of the facts concerning whether or not the Bible and Christianity intrinsically advised and counseled liberty for the odd and even peculiar few exceptional Black folk among the minority. Apparently the authorities posited the axiom that the exception neither tested nor overturned but confirmed the rule of race involuntary servitude in perpetuity, and forthwith declared enslavement of the Black race majority implicitly right and righteous according to their subjective interpretation of divine revelation, and rational and legal by the standard of their objective moral and positive law.

Diverging from the initial European enslavement of Africans in the late fifteenth century and converging in nineteenth-century North America, this increasingly intense debate raged within the antebellum Northern Evangelical Denominations. It proved as a protracted exercise in rational contraction and expansion of ethical excellence to be anything but demonstrable futility.

In the form of an proabolitionist and antiabolitionist problem for Evangelical Protestants, and the shape of a protectionist church and state issue of pro-immediatism versus pro-gradualism, the antislavery-proslavery conflict between Christian performance and compromise of principle forced the 1837 to 1845 division of the major Evangelical Churches. This complex schism resulted in pure and simple proslavocracy Churches in the South, and more antislavocracy or less proslavocracy Churches in the North competing with antislavocrat/proslavocrat-

neutral Churches.

In these Evangelical Northern Denominations, excluding the Quaker slave-free and Episcopal slavery value-neutral Churches, the argument waxed over the ethical excellence of universal and unconditional immediate self-determination for Black and White folk. The driving force of this debate on the merits of universal liberty in freedom with justice and equality for all was whether demanding *agape*-love over justice or whether the civil order of legalized injustice was the highest priority for Christianity and civility.

Protestant Churches were forced to choose the greater of the two goods or lesser of the evils, to face the facts that their permanent principles were in conflict and one had to be given a higher priority in the cultural crisis than the other, and to conclude there was a positive wrong and right choice. They were caught between the external pressure applied by rival politics-intensive and anti-political New Abolitionists--who were predominantly Evangelicals existing on the periphery of the Denominational power circles--and the internal leverage of establishmentarian antiabolitionists. Few churchmen doubt that the relatively more serious secular and religious civil issues of self-determination than sectarian conflicts of moral interests generated the dynamic profane and sacred alternatives. Protestant Denominations reluctantly graduated from preponderantly antislavocracy/proslavocrat-neutral institutions to overwhelmingly antislavocrat organizations.

In actuality, however, the energy expended in underpinning progressive standpattism guaranteed the unmatchable social redeeming resources and creative power of the Churches would be restricted to sectarian empowerment of the public sector. Marshalling their parochial and private funds in the mid-bellum and Reconstruction decade, as instrumental values of church and state united rather than separated in competing American Civil Religion and Federal Government agencies, the major Northern Denominations severely limited their seemingly boundless bountifulness to internal ecclesiastical affairs and external concerns with puritanical moralisms.

The Civil War effectively ended the academic debate (in the North but not in the South) over human bondage versus human liberty as the natural and divine law and therefore the right and permanent human condition of Black folk--that is, the real interests of Northerners were no longer related to protecting the policy that the Bible and Christianity authorized the slavery of the Black race and denied Black Americans possessed a legitimate claim to self-determination.

Previously, the Confederacy and the Union declared the Civil War to resolve the conflict of real interests more precisely than values between White Northerners and Southerners, that were inherent in the near-absolute prerogatives of power, privilege, property, and profits enjoyed by the White ethnic individual.

Color chattel property existed for the Protestant Churches on their boundary lines between uncoñcern and disinterest throughout the antebellum decades, whence the civil hostilities incidentally far more than accidentally or necessarily propelled the Black body from periphery of indifference to the center of their institutional concern, to wit, the politics of power avoiding rather than sharing politics of charity.

Yankee capitalists once primarily engaged in producing and accumulating wealth were transformed Protestant philanthropists who solicited clergy and laymen to fairly and equitably distribute their discretionary income--that was generated by productive workers and the enormous interest capital accrued from

their extraordinarily successful profit-making investments. Pre-War capitalists qua philanthropists converted in the conflict of conscience and consequence of culture devastation into a post-War higher conscious class. They were further prepared by Northern White liberal pressure and Southern White conservative pleas to ameliorate the condition of Black freedmen. This task-responsibility they accepted without denying the freedmen were the former productive slaves in whom Northeasterners invested and Southeasterners managed successfully as profitable chattel property. Yankees considered this charity an act of repentance and reparation, but the rethinking and repairing reversal of values did not include reconciliation.

The underlying and fundamental issue of anti-Black race virtue remained securing the income of pro-White race/ethnic real interests and values. This demanding outcome of pro-White race/ethnic virtue continued to be affirmed as a necessity, to undermine the positive prospects of the freedmen, and to undercut the promise and performance of the Black race. Color caste class inclusion at the entry level of the power escalators was scarcely the serious concern of the resourceful major Churches. Once the Northern Denominations were liberated from the debilitating antislavery-proslavery debate their ideas, monetary funds, and missionary-educator personnel were amassed to correct the previous retributive justice but the ecclesiastical bureaucracies severely limited distributive justice in the process of securing their narrowly focused objective. In short, they directed their resources so as to ignore the needs of Black Northerners as broadly as they distribute massive aid to poor White and Black inhabitants in the South. Without doubt, Black Americans in the South and the North were clearly the most (but not the only) desperate Americans.

Denominational Freedmen's Societies were agencies of Churches with a power method developed through long histories of selective engagement and disengagement in Federalist Party through Republican Party politics. But this power medium is the method and the power method is the medium was the power message that power messengers failed to deliver to the powerless people. They ejected this American Civil Religion expertise from their mission and instead of shared power plus shared values the two-dimensional agents chose to contribute to the objects and subjects of their charity the one-dimensional puritanical moralisms and manners enveloped in remedial religious education, claimed these ways and means alone would enable freedmen to rise from slaves to citizens of the republic, and argued that assimilating middle-class morality and respectability would result in fashionable taste and style that in turn would change the uncivil to civil conditions.

Paralleling the law and order first rule of conservatives, these Yankee "Consistent Calvinists" ruled that decorum was the key to success for the freedmen in the moment but precisely on this point these spiritual Puritan leaders were challenged by political Puritan missionaries. Freedmen were counterindoctrinated with political theory and experience in reality patterns by the leaders of the Radical Republican Party, Union League, and Freedmen's Bureau. The Yankee power game instructors inculcated Black men with the power rule and first rule of power--that is, self-respect begins with self-determination as certainly as self-esteem commences with the possession of power or the capacity to effect the choice of reason and will.

The difference between the experimental education of the missionary compounds within the parochial plantations and in participatory democracy on the public streets of the urban South was one of preparation for life in the church

as congregants life as civil citizens. The problem the power people created was not their parallel parochial and public education systems but the implication which left the freedmen to infer their best interest was served by choosing one or the other educational plans. In fact, the right choice was not either/or but both. And the failure of the religious humanitarian and secular humanist Puritans was their unwillingness or inability to unite their sacred and secular endeavors in civil sector political education of the freedmen.

Parishioner and parson Protestant philanthropists and party power politics partisans comprised the whole Puritan and Yankee, but they provided the color caste class with only one half in their critical imposition of Hobson's Choice. This selective factor contributed to the expansion rather than to the contraction of the outcaste condition from the nineteenth into the twentieth century. As the postbellum era passed into and beyond the Reconstruction period, the ex-slaves increasingly found themselves victims of progressively intense anti-Black race virulence. The anti-Black race values device of vice was updated in the antebellum era by fashionable proponents of pro-White race/ethnic virtue. These skillful managers of reality expertly manipulated it to inhibit and prohibit the Black race, and to squeeze the life out of free Black folk in the antebellum North and South (whom fugitives were fast becoming increasingly as the Civil War approached who did not choose to escape to Canada or other foreign lands).

Exceptional antebellum free black people and postbellum freedmen continued to enjoy advantages relative to the disadvantages overwhelming the slave masses in the parochial, private, and public sectors. The fortunate few were favored as the "Elect" selected and approved by benevolent paternalists in the Northern and Southern establishments, but their privileges whether granted by benefactors or earned from productive accomplishments no more elevated them in status than the masses who were stuck beneath them in station. Color caste competitors who escalated above the White ethnic individual did not like the White ethnic male possess inherited, ascribed, or achieved. Irrespective of inferior class performance, the White male emerged an individual as automatically as Black folks were denied the designation and bound by Black race-specific identification.

White establishmentarians and proven liberals like Lyman Abbott, who engaged in the promotion of Denominational eleemosynary enterprises, appeared constitutionally determined to give short shrift more often than serious cease and desist commitment to the personal and social consequences engendered by the public rehearsals of anti-Black race values. This disproportionate disinterest in the mortal physical and mental assaults suffered by the Black body is illuminated when the high tiers of concentrated spirituality high powered decision-makers contributed are compared to the low levels of Domestic Mission funds they allocated for the political and economic escalation of Black Northern residents.

This more ethical than criminal negligence of the Black body by the competitors for the Black mind and soul was just and justified right since the built-in error was designed by justification by faith in reason realists rather than either incidental or accidental, in essence the manifest failure to distinguish the true needs and real interests of the Black race from the preferred concerns of the White race, and only partly due to the excessive energy these ecclesiastical powers expended as rival revivalists in the race for not merely being crowned the champion distributor of generous supply-side benevolence but winning the

greatest number in their sectarian competition for *The Souls of Black Folk.* These Protestant Church charities' stiff and serious stretch of deterrence-benevolence was the hallmark of Evangelical overrulers' overreligious overreach of the Black and White Southerners.

Although the concurrent ecumenism inherent in the idea that the nineteenth century was the Protestant century abided because it fed and was fed their common commitment to the Evangelical World Alliance, the antebellum American Colonization Society and the Temperance Moral Reform movement were the only two coordinated public interest endeavors Protestant Denominations effected in the pre-ecumenical age of sectarian missionary agencies.

Mainstream ecclesiastical bureaucracies were all but identical in style and structure, as well as in intention and purpose (but different objective command of Protestant producers of wealth and philanthropic distributors of beneficence in), and their Foreign Mission and Domestic Mission agencies formed a symmetrical deterrence-benevolence kaleidoscope. These corporations were financed adequately because the Evangelical enthusiasm for the poor and defenseless that the American and European powers colonized at home and abroad generated outpourings of fairly evenly distributed sympathy. Nothing aroused compassion and loosened purse strings in the churches like these congregants' rational religious and romantic racial sense of the dark, mysterious, and unknown hoards of inferiors at some distance being saved and secured in safe compounds from secular colonialists by their precious few religious emissaries, who were perceived to be bold and brave missionary-educators risking life and limb delivering Evangelical liberty to the captives of ignorance, poverty, and disease.

The contemporaneous hundreds of postbellum Black and White Domestic Mission ministers and missionaries who committed themselves to educating freedmen--and to directing millions of dollars on their behalf in the ecclesiastical-specific and civil-limiting moral and industrial training projects they approved--were dedicated men and women of apolitical puritanical persuasion preponderantly. As a result of their deliberate refusal to induce a perceptible significant civil rise of Black folk in their native Northern local communities--as well as in their new domestic and foreign residences--Evangelical missionary-educators disclosed Millennial-Missionary-Colonization designs to be the centermost interest of Protestantism.

Hence the universal desire of the human spirit of fairness and equity to prevail was of pale significance compared to the drive of churchmen to sustain the genuine religious quest for spiritual security by fostering the illusion that Black and White race soul equality fulfills the civil citizen inclusion rising expectation.

In sum and substance, the pilots of philanthropy created permanent Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethics dependents as naturally as they generated the puritanical moralism needs, produced the and supplied the religious demand, and controlled Church relief along with administering ecclesiastical rewards and punishments.

Antebellum Black Northerners were also given little sustaining substance in the North by Evangelical Denominations because of the widespread belief among Protestant establishmentarians that free Black inhabitants were no different from other American residents: which convincement was so strong until the convinced rationalized there value judgment by asserting that the disenfranchisement of the color caste class in the plurality of the Northern and Western states, and their suffering economic discrimination disproportionately, were ex-

ceptions proving the rule.

Moreover, it was generally affirmed that the further development of Black residents was at best the minor business of the parochial and private sectors and the major civil public responsibility of local, state, and national governments.

Concurrently conscious cultural change consciences like Henry Ward Beecher were highly praised White liberals and Social Gospel leaders, but while they expended their influence marching to protest the anti-Black race policies of the public transportation systems and succeeded in desegregating these obstructions of justice they failed to direct effective positive political and economic access to equal opportunity. The sincere intentions and serious purposes of these better negative good than positive good social change agents were never in doubt, and neither were the consequences of their indispensable direct action that proved insufficient in the light of the expanding doctrine of fairness in the few bright but brief progressive sections of the private, parochial, and public sectors.

These enlightened engagement and self-interest pioneering affirmative action and equal opportunity agencies were headed by Radical Republicans in the South, who demonstrated initiative by taking responsibility for securing ever wider open access routes to competitive opportunities in the political and educational professions, employment and housing markets, and ecclesiastical and civil power circles.

These positive good acts of Northerners in the South were remarkably short-lived compared to the parallel Protestant philanthropists' permissiveness of Northern social segregation, economic discrimination, and political prejudice that appeared to result from a prototypal *Catch-22* predicament. Philanthropic churchmen, underwriting the foreign and domestic programs of local congregations and national Denominations, were captains of industry, who, as industrialists, generally realized their own anti-Black race preferences in the private-parochial-public power realms. These masterful free enterprise entrepreneurs were a force of pride and prejudice for whom selective private association and freedom of choice were matching first principles, exercising their prerogatives of privilege was a high priority, and stabilizing status quo social order was the prerequisite power and authority rule of law requiring them to sustain discriminatory principles and practices throughout the American infrastructure and superstructure.

These industrial age proliferating manufacturers and managers of industrial capitalism expressly furthered unfair policies in the military-industrial complex. Industrialists remained in command and control of the manufacturing industry through slowly but surely skillfully executing the first psychological rule of people management, namely, bending rather than breaking. Thus capital alternately conspired with White ethnic immigrants-dominated labor unions and acquiesced to the racist demands of organized labor, as management and labor leaders manipulated their co-equal middle-class and working-clasps hyperexclusivity to render the employment of Black labor in managerial and working-class positions nearly as rare as hens' teeth.

Earlier, even before 1700, Black New Englanders benefited from the advice, counsel, and guidance of Puritan slavemasters. By this date Cotton Mather, the unexcelled efficiency expert and managing director of Black bondage, advanced the social control mechanism established as a Calvinist cultural custom by masterful Puritan rational disciplinarians from an art through an experienced-based

experimental skilled craft into a technically unexcelled science.

Mather also extended his professional leadership and expanded his public servant role by establishing for his Black slave parishioners a para-church within the North Church of Christ he co-pastored with his father in Boston. Mather fashioned this first Black mission to facilitate Massachusetts Black bondage and free Calvinists' rapid elementary educational and spiritual growth, development of a classic Calvinist conservative collective conscience, and internalization of Puritan morals and manners as eternal internal control monitors. What he aimed to achieve was not autonomous but selectively dependent and independent interdependent individuals who could be trusted when released on the their own recognizance.

Black Bostonians were the deethnicized co-progenitors with English and British cultural cousins of their Black race-specific kith and kin, whom antebellum and postbellum Yankee descendants coinstantaneously declared praiseworthy and blameworthy for establishing indigenous self-help societies. This persistent policy of alternatingly affirming and disaffirming initiatives by independent-minded and autonomous Black brothers and sisters in the Church of Christ was advanced by secular and religious Yankee proponents of theological liberalism and economic socialism, evolved as a variation on the theme of opposition to Black self-determination that fiscal and social conservative antebellum Puritans sustained, and ended as not only an updated version and imaginative extension of this Puritan past prologue but even more portentously as a progressive transformation deterrent of the biracial egalitarianism that high principled Protestants' were developing.

OVERVIEW OF THE ANTI-POLITICS FACTOR FASHIONED BY MISSIONARIES TO FREEDMEN

At this turning point from the broad background material developed to enhance understanding of the narrow focused Abbottesque liberalism the heart of the context matter can be stated in a constricted construct, since what transpired for the Black North Americans forward from their original settlement of the New World is one far better known than accepted basic fact.

The Black race-only group was made in America and made America as positively as the free and bond people were created one indivisible whole Black body devoid of a single individual, neither in Paradise (Africa) nor the Promised Land (North America) but a paradox by the ironic loins of the invincible legions of lions, and permanent children formed and shaped a color caste/bondage class of visible dependents challenged to survive specially structured social conditions while forced to operate under cultural constraints designed to determine them standard deviations from the norm and deter their natural development (from childhood through adolescence to manhood) perforce progression beyond being independents (or their majority) to becoming interdependents (or reaching fully developed maturity).

The color caste/bondage class classic conversion emerged during the Eighteenth-century African and European fusion in White institutions, constituted a dependent Black body who converged as a conscious caste among the class conscious Christians from whom as nineteenth-century self-determinationists they diverged to form independent consociations whose autonomous formations evolved to engage the twentieth-century positive power as negative power inter-

dependents.

Beyond question, these independent societies spawned by the Black community were at once not sufficient to achieve their biracial equalitarianism objective autonomous and indispensable organizations for the creative survival of Black North Americans.

While being a self-revelation power presence perforce affirming the error and denying the truth and consequences inherent in the pro-White race/ethnic interests-securing males and pro-Black race interests-demanding males efficient cause and necessary effect, White social liberals and social conservatives argued from different premises the value and disvalue of the autonomous associations their self-respecting color caste clergymen Calvinist (and other cultural) cousins created to secure class self-esteem. Rival left and right of the centrist electorate cultural determiners applauded the subjective and objective power, prosperity, and peace goals of Black leadership class but determined they should be actualized differently and realized in different places.

Pursuant to placing these conflict of principal Protestant philanthropists and their principles in perspective, it is useful to recall that constant change and continuity comprised the cultural condition of the churchmen classes currently in conflict as a result of being highly charged and conscious competing civility and Christianity intent and content consciences. The hostilities between power elite Northern proslavocrat and Southern slavocrat versus Northern antislavocrats proceeded apace the progression of the antebellum cultural crisis from a complex Christian *Conscience and Constitution* confrontation over the civility of color caste/bondage constraints to the Civil War Yankees and Cavaliers waged to settle their power differences, conflicts of real interests and values, and irreconcilable legitimate claims.

Northern warriors made war neither to liberate the captive color chattel from their captors nor to save the color the color caste/bondage class but to protect power people, principles, and priorities, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to make peace, power, and prosperity.

Prior to the schism suffered by the Union, proslavocrat Northern establishment churchmen argued the color caste/bondage class constituted the one and only serious difficulty between Yankees and Cavaliers, the pure and simple solution was to eliminate the problem, and resolved to concentrate on deporting the Black body and soul of America to Africa. Their switch from a defensive to an offensive power stance was a precipitating factor in their transitional and transitory change in power style rather than substance.

In the full flush of turning from proslavocrat to antislavocrat champions, the Yankees who sought neither to reward or to punish their enemies nor revenge but to be reconciled with their temporary foes and permanent friends believed that to the victors belong the spoils, the defeated Confederates remained parties to their White Christian Gentlemen's Agreement, and the Cavaliers were vanquished yet honórable White Christian gentlemen who be magnanimous in defeat and therefore the victors need not take unfair advantage of the disadvantaged.

A contributing factor to this establishmentarian disposition and position was an error in judgement that matched for miscalculation the misestimation of their Old Abolitionist Founding Fathers, who compromised their principles in creating and ratifying the color class citizenship-preclusive Constitution on the mistaken belief that they had constructed an instrument that would abolish slavery automatically and rationally eventually. These antiabolitionist Yankee

sons of the Puritan Old Abolitionists advanced on a parallel perilous tacit assumption, to wit, from appreciation of their Northern proslavocrat and Southern slavocrat total resistance to universal and unconditional immediate abolition and acceptance of this lost common cause it followed in logic and therefore inevitably in life that the Confederates would grant citizenry status to Colored civilians.

The antebellum struggle between abolitionists (radicals) and antiabolitionists (reactionaries) appeared to be won by the pro-immediatists and lost by the pro-gradualists, but when the Confederates refused to conform to the consensus civility criterion the reaction of the "Consistent Calvinists" revolved around recurring alternate states of consciousness, color caste cancellation alternatives, and the "back to Africa" final resolve and ultimate solution. The pertinent matter is that the law of alternation was the pivotal dynamic that dominated the establishmentarian Protestant philanthropists forward from the Civil War through World War I, during which "Black nadir" contracting and expanding periods they played politics and the power game as selective constructive engagement and disengagement professional partisan and non-partisan parsons and parishioners.

Social Gospel White liberals more consistently and persistently than radicals were either double minded or divided in will and reason over whether biracial pluralism in North America was advanced through uniformity only or evolved essentially and primarily as well as best through unity in diversity and diversity in unity. Nonetheless, they distinguished themselves as a difference that made a difference in the process of standing out from the distinct White Nationalists: whose monism plus monoracialism acquired immune deficiency syndrome germinated a transmittable hyperexclusive White Nationalism that required America to be a White Man's Country and the Black man to be denationalized, deculturalized, and deported from the American Promised Land to the African colony of Liberia purchased by the American Colonization Society.

Pro-Colonizationists and anti-Colonizationists were indiscriminately pro-Calvinists and anti-Calvinists, similar and dissimilar White Nationalists (compared to countermarching Black Nationalists whose Black Nationalism demand the American Colonization Society effectively created and supplied as well as guaranteed through its aggressively marketed brand of White Nationalism), and polar extremes who united in superimposing upon the color caste/bondage class the Black race-defeating double standards and two sets of rational rules and regulations. They were evident as the rival rulers divided the rule and ruled separate and distinct color caste consociations were necessary to realized their Black Africa for Black (not White South) Africans, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a prescription for solidifying the fluid Black race inferiority and White race superiority state and making permanent the existence of the pariah people in a subordinate political economy position beneath the predominate White (and other) ethnic groups.

Capricious and capacious countless types of profane and sacred Protestant philanthropists selectively underpinned and undermined productive Black community created and controlled consociations equally differently and simultaneously as overt (Lyman Beecher) and covert (Henry and Harriet Beecher) White nationalist agents of White Nationalism were driven by different displayed and hidden agendas. They frequently so thought and act because some power Protestants viewed segregated Black race-only institutions as not color-prejudice cause and effect consequences but the efficient means to the sufficient end of the color caste/bondage White Man's Burden through solving by eliminating the problem

(perforce deporting the whole Black body to Africa or some other extraterritorial space), and other rational religious and romantic racialists believed that rather than dysfunctional disorganizations the self-acting Black societies stabilized their vested interests and were nearly indispensable functional organizations as status quo law and order structures-securing societies.

This rationalization of realities recurred less reliably than randomly in the public and parochial intersectors, upspringing from their recoiled interlinking private interstices dominated by interlocking directorates, as a rational exercise of prerogatives and arrangement of priorities preferred by dictators of cultural customs, political and economic systems, and ecclesiastical and civil laws. Whether demonstrable powerless Black magic (experimental experience) and powerful White magic (experimental empiricalism) or whether both intended and unintended, one irrefutable result of the eccentric and erratic call of the color caste class collective conscious the wrong and right choice was that this positive affirmation and positive negation proved a self-fulfilling prophecy.

From whence it followed in logic and life that the rapidly rising independent and interdependent Black institutions and males were shafted by the body of Christ and body corporate, and swiftly plummeted dependent bodies in the body politic from the spiraling heights of aspiration. Rationalists obscured the reality and meaning of their Black body bashing and crashing that clearly revolved around underdeveloped, undeveloped, and developing Black Americans being personally proscribed within defined church and civil limits by free enterprise engineers of freedom of choice and enterprising freedom of religion ecclesiastical entrepreneurs.

The critical mass and massive confluence of these cultural realities were reinforced by liberal and conservative standard deviations from the American Civil Religion norm that consensus seeking and following rather than leading moderates established as the criterion of centrists. They were, in a word, precipitating factors in the predominant national race relations policy and program of religion that entailed programming the color caste class whom the Black and White Radical Republican Reconstructionists rose to deprogram. Deconstruction and destruction misconstructionists equated enlightened engagement with engineering the contraction rather than the expansion of Black wealth and welfare produced by color caste competitors, an objective these linear progress principle pursuing progressive transformationists achieved through restricting the productive economic and political capital growth of Black males to chance-limiting cyclical periods. The dominant class set deterrence-benevolence on automatic pilot, and it was preset to curb any rapid development of the subdominant Black race whereby for each political and economic step forward in the postbellum decades Black folk were driven two steps backwards in the post-Reconstruction years.

Hence the Black body could not develop her full potential and resources for the enrichment of the body politic either with or without White race/ethnic groups. White folk could not get along well either with or without Black folk. But they muddled through because nothing appeared more of a minor and manageable matter than the harm afflicting the power elite male and female engaged in inflicting punitive deprivation of basic human rights and cruel and corporeal punishment upon Black body, power people remained comfortably upon the Black male and female in which posture they were best able to maximize pleasure and minimize pain, and the preponderance of the intensive ethnic minorities comprising the American majority considered the color caste class at

worst a tolerable nuisance.

These great certainties were not an inevitable but a natural outcome of rationalists who enjoyed liberty in a freedom and justice protecting civil order, rationalized the existence of the dispossessed and desperate in a state of neither liberty nor freedom, and set placed order over freedom for the caste and bondage class. Anti-Black race virility was a Western logic-laced and Bible-justified Christian tradition, one conforming to and confirming the unwillingness (far less than the inability) of European ethnics to affirm their color caste/captive cultural kinspeople: in other than exceptions to the rule personal relations, exceptional circumstances created by special public (and private or parochial) cultural customs, and societal crises rife with high intensity and high anxiety.

The original Puritan and Anglican slavemaster-fathers of the Founding Fathers emerged the cooperating Northeastern and Southeastern coordinating powerhouses who possessed enough negative power to frustrate the negative racial forces in both the Disunited and United States. The positive power people demonstrated this negative power as White race/ethnic elite individuals arrayed in special interest groups to advance multi-leveled and multiplier effect values and interests such as the White ethnic individual rule they enacted into the Constitution. Just as evidently, they were able and sometimes willing to extend sustained genuine regard for their fortunate few favorite Black sons.

At the same time, however, the select elite who elected to confer special privileges upon exceptional Black males, and to exercise their legal or illegal power and authority when it served their interests, also pretended that the ecclesiastical, educational, political, economic, and legal systems prevented them from exercising their considerable illegitimate and legitimate citizens' arrest powers either to prevent the suffering of to enable the Black race to obtain psychological health and social well-being. The Civil War changed this rhythm of anti-Black race indifference, or the style rather more than the substance of everyday anti-Black race interest priorities.

Fundamentally, compared to the antebellum Protestant Churches- undergirded ACS's real success but failure to achieve its Black race deportation objective), this postbellum minimizing of benefits and maximizing of liabilities experience of the color caste class was the market-set high price for delivering amelioration to the freedmen that the Protestant philanthropists determined to be just and fair, certified not so dear as to render the deeds of those who paid brutal benevolence and abundant cheap grace, and denied the figure was so exorbitant that it amounted to the cost-conscious counting the cost of indifference to free Black social change agents--and the best known possible right and good interest of the Black race they were struggling to advance--negligible.

The cost-effective Calvinists protested that the legimitate claims of the partisan party power politickers was cost-prohibitive, proclaimed the united church and state business of business and the business of religion was the price of doing business as usual, and avowed that their non-negotiable fiscal funnel and moral channel structuring their religious-specific form of relief was not only good but good enough for Black folk.

Congregationalists led the other mainstream Churches in their mid-bellum and Reconstruction era new response to the color caste class. These establishmentarians, who were distinguishable from establishment Protestants acting as individuals in nonestablishment organizations, directed the old pattern of paternalistic deterrence-benevolence. The continuation of the odd omission and even

commission--specifically Protestantism's benign neglect of the free-born Black folk and malign neglect of the real interests and values of the Black race--constituted a calculated decision that Christian realists declared both rational and reasonable because it was rationalizable.

They were no less certain that their idealism was not lost in the lofty levels of American pragmatism: the theoretical and technical rational ruling principle of the system that is premised on the prime point of weighing the worth of values according to their merits as utilitarian functions, and by which practical or results-test rather needs-test determination of high principles Moral Reformers arrived at their pontificated truly meritorious means and ends with sincere intentions devoid of serious attention to the equally solid consequences.

One direct outcome of Protestant Churches withdrawing their strategic support systems from creative support of pro-Black race interest agents during the postbellum was consequential: noncitizen freedmen whose liberty was limited by the absence of freedom were left naked of civil liberties and civil rights, without the benefit of an antiterrorist presence from these avenging turned angels of mercy, and indecently exposed and vulnerable to the terror unleashed by White ethnic political and economic terrorists. Lynch law mobocrats' power hunger drives and needs generated outrageous anti-Black race interest-specific demands, and empowered their will to ascendancy over Black folk.

Whether or not they truly feared the Black male who threatened their preferred privileged power that enabled them to exclude from the competition whomsoever their capacity permitted, the White race/ethnic proletariat appeared distinguished from the power elite insofar as seemed convinced that the Black race demonstrated in their resilient existence against great odds (characterized by rapid numerical increase rather than the predicted decrease of the color caste class) "the survival of the fittest."

Amid the assurance of White race ascendance and Black race descendance the ascent of the unsecure color caste class was a phenomenon for the insecure and security-conscious White ethnics, whose rise as a body before the very eyes of the Ku Klux Klansman who personally buried a horrendous number of Black bodies was a materialization they took so seriously it shaped their deepest concerns. The Black birthrate spiraling above the Black deathrate argued perception is reality, the arguments for massive nullification of the Black mass, and that if not checked by a secular and religious parochial-private-public partnership allied to secure pro-White race/ethnic (or anti-Black race) real interests and values the Black will to power sharing would end in triumph rather than defeat.

Perchance for the same reasons that history does not disclose its alternatives class warfare between the upper-class and the middle-class versus the lower-class took second place to a common crusade against the color caste. Whether they only followed or whether they followed in one and led in another cultural crisis clash of the classes or common cause as remarkably as the parties to the conflict managed communication and cooperation despite their persistent conciliation engagement and disengagememt, British ethnic immigrants joined ranks with the English race culture rulers who asserted class will tell; imitated the intellectual determiners of social taste as well as of correct race relations; and formed the power proletariat masses who accepted the rational dictates espoused by the power elite dictatorship of the proletariat as conventional wisdom.

Reverting to their antebellum tradition of avoiding politics, save in selective issues involving their real interests and matters of morals they considered the

primary business of religion, the postbellum major Protestant Denominations in the North preferred the (not so easy charity challenge but given their fifty years-long track record in Foreign and Domestic Missions definitely) feasible task of managing morals, manners, and the mobilization of benevolent resources plus more philanthropic women than men (relative to any previous missionary enterprise) to rescue the perishing Southern freedmen and White ethnics.

Along with expertise in theory and experience they were reinforced by history as they journeyed into the South. But whether the mission of mercy conjured parallels with Sherman's incendiary march through the South, or seemed a Yankee extension of the *Puritan Errand into the Wilderness* of North America, diehard Confederacy-loyal leaders of the White Southern Protestant Denominations were suspicious of the beneficence.

Cavaliers were particularly suspect of benevolent Yankees whose eleemosynary gifts and grants were neither contributed by ecclesiastical sources nor expended to serve the purposes of American Civil Religion and the sectarian Churches but secular civil resources directed to change partisan political party policy. Ex-Confederate Democrats called this Reconstruction era Northern Radical Republican and Union League forage into the South a Southern invasion. Yankee-Puritans led autonomous private benevolence bureaucracies that complemented strictly Northern Church-created Freedmen's Societies (of the Baptist, Congregationalist, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Presbyterian Denominations predominantly).

Private Protestant philanthropic and parochial eleemosynary charities were determined to select the beneficiaries and victims of the massive charity they generated from internal assets and managed for external philanthropists. They approached their task with market managing skills, endeavored to maximize efficiency and minimize cost, and appeared to be what they sometimes avowed and on other occasions disavowed: a national confession of guilt and demonstration of grace subsisting of rational repentance, rationalized responsibility, and rations of reparations.

The antebellum history of these missionary ministers and educators concentrated them mind because they restricted their mission to supporting the inextricably intertwined religious and secular education, evangelization and regeneration, and missionization and colonization of Black proselytes Africa. Analogous to the problem and prospects of Millennialism, whereby the non-arriving commencement of the last one thousand years of history requires each new generation of millennarians to re-compute the predicted arrival date of the millennium, sending the Black race to Africa was an antebellum antiabolitionism and deterrence-benevolence system institutionalized by the Domestic and Foreign Mission boards of each major Church that shared values with the deportation-intensive ACS.

Taking these historical certainties and current realities for granted and as givens, the apolitical priorities dictated the principles, programs, and process selected by Northern parochial agencies of private and public relief. This premise from they directed their anti-political but politics-consequential mission of deterrence-benevolence may not have been as inevitable as it was predictable.

The moral and religious crusade of the establishment Churches centered around intentional avoidance at all costs of partisan party power politics, but the published Protestant commitment to ecclesiastical eleemosynary enterprises was one uncontested fact that set free and clear of politics neither the Denomina-

tions nor their agencies and thus failed its chief purpose. Religion and morality could no more be separated from politics than capitalism could be value-free or economics could be value-neutral. Yet Protestant missionary-educators and their Church boards struggled rigorously and vigorously to render this axiom invalid.

Thus by arguing with (instead of) the facts, they flew flat in the teeth of the not so narrowly scoped but nicely nuanced separation of church and state doctrine, of the historic parochial-private-public partnerships from the Puritan and Anglican theocracies through the Federalist Party to the Federal Government-funded (plus officers of Legislative and Judicial Branches-led) ASC, and of the church and state united Freedmen's Societies.

They doubted purely parochial change in the politics-pervasive Reconstruction States was a political act. Still, the missions of the Protestant Churches to the Freedmen entailed an American Civil Religion political choice, confluence, and consequence. Politics is power whose force enveloped their abandoning Black Northerners to White ethnic mobocracy and labor union coercion; instantly protecting the interests and values of White Southern Democrats; and securing Black Southern Democrats and Republicans in insulated and isolated compounds.

These church separated from civil society in an urban space where reality and history were suspended in time for eternity were powerful missions and parallels. As such, they were especially reminiscent of John Eliot's preservation of Indian Jews for Jesus on Massachusetts reservations--which he constructed of Millennium-intensive mental barriers. Irrespective of the intentions of the architects, the consequences of their design impacted the civil no less than the religious lives of the neophytes proselytizers proselytized.

The Reconstruction reserves and reservoirs of restitution were total institutions, whose form and function disclosed they were partly instituted to short circuit indispensable Black political development. This secondary rather than primary goal was achieved through the religious segregation from political integration process that was designed to realize the so-called ultimate reality of Evangelical integration.

Puritan parsons and parishioners were preponderantly power politics partisans and Just War warriors, and their Yankee sons followed suit as champion combatants and hardball politics players whenever and wherever their best interests were served by entering the power game. The power substance and style tradition of Puritan-Yankee tribalism were the basic values of the overwhelming plurality of power pro-Calvinists (Congregationalists and Baptists as well as Presbyterians) and anti-Calvinists and therefore of their Colored cultural cousins whom they converted. Only a miniscule minority of moral mavericks content to challenge the majority and persist on the margins of power, of which idiosyncratic types William Lloyd Garrison was the most representative figure, broke ranks with the Calvinist Puritans and adopted the pure peace and politics-free principles that were preached and practiced by Quaker Puritans.

Thus partial truth and error was evident when the establishmentarian rulers ruled by changing the rules, the rules of the White majority did not apply to the Black minority, and the rule of the White minority the rule of the Black majority. In this posture proceeded post-War clerical and lay ministers who marched from the North to the South to proselytize the freedmen.

These major brokers of the business of business and the business of religion claimed they passed for the Puritan-Yankee mind when the missionary messengers delivered their odd and even peculiar selective politics-free message, proclaimed pure motives of altruism and pluperfect impartial measures no less for-

cefully than they maintained that their empirically verifiable unbiased magnanimous means and ends validated their claim to living far above suspicion and beyond reproach, and pretended to be nonpartisan, nonviolent, and non-prejudice parson and parishioner philanthropists.

They were "Consistent Calvinists" in the sense that the Presbyterian central church governance system was the model republican representative form of government and democracy adopted by the republic, and the parallel representative governance systems of the ecclesiastical and civil powers coinstantaneously precluded all Black males and required White Northern and Southern males to participate in partisan power politics who were concerned to maximize their assets and to minimize their liabilities.

Thus long before and after the birth of the nation, partisan or nonpartisan power politics for the White male and non-politics for the Black male constituted the time-honored cardinal charity rule of the far more historic than honorable deterrence-benevolence ethic. As the pragmatic parochial public policy of expediency this endemic rule of double standards was one thing, and as a pervasive convenience personally preferred by Protestant leaders it was an altogether different thing. More than sufficient amounts of easily accessible Protestant imagination and flexibility existed, and the abundance could have been appropriated by independent-minded missionary and ministerial preceptors of the three R's to enable the Black Southern male to enter and escalate upon the participatory democracy escalator earlier in the long range (at least if not also in the short-term).

Fulfilling this equally critical fundamental need, and strange church and civil connection missing link for American Civil Religion generalists and specialists, entailed establishing a curriculum for freedmen that included elementary preparation in citizenship responsibilities, training in the techniques of securing their civil rights and civil liberties together with their right to participate in the democratic process, and electing representatives to protect and extend their real interests and values.

Second only to the survival needs inclusive of the primary need to obtain employment that would enable Black men and women to earn a livelihood, their highest priority consisted of participating in the political process wherein decisions were made effecting their life chances.

In truth, "no taxation without representation" was a high priority for freedmen and one they shared with Black men and women who were born free in the North and the South, evidenced leadership skills that excited recruiters for the Denominational Freedmen's Societies to recruit these talented males and females as their missionary educators and ministers, and returned to or relocated in the Confederate States as licensed agents of the same parochial and private corporations funding the anti-political Yankee-Puritans.

These first-hand experiences in the late antebellum through postbellum decades with the high stakes-playing and great risks-taking Colored Calvinist clergymen-politicians, resulted in the clearly not risk-free but risk-secure Denominationalists being in a position to appreciate the current and to anticipate the future demand of Black males to share in the life-enhancing and death-enhancing decision-making process. At the very least, the perceptive mid-bellum Yankees expected the post-War period would result in Black males being granted the franchise and inspire Black self-liberators and self-determinationists to press for their just rights and legitimate claims.

Perchance the Calvinist capitalist churchmen presumed as Yankee sons and

daughters of the Puritan saints and sinners that the enfranchisement of their centuries-old and newly converted color caste Congregational congregants and clergy was a foregone conclusion, that conferring citizenship rights upon their cultural cousins and guaranteeing them the right to exercise the franchise was not a question of special interests but a general interest duty of the republic as clearly as voting is both a privilege and the individual responsibility of the citizen, and, like and unlike their civil liberty and religious liberty as well as freedom of conscience (speech and assembly and association no less than the press), that securing their civil liberties and civil rights was a secular and civil matter and not a sacred and affair of either the church or their charity corporations.

Whether the victor turned benefactor because the class of Yankees thought they conquered the Confederates, and were the most surprised philanthropists in the world to discover the Cavalier vanqueror not only rebounded and refused to follow their model of generosity while claiming to be victimized but turned up Confederates who were bent on retaliation and revenge and turned out victimizers of the victims Puritans credited themselves for liberating from the vicious, or whether they failed to predict the competitiveness of the competent Colored clergymen-politicians whose rapidly rising expectations the also unanticipated Radical Republican Reconstruction of the South evidently precipitated, Yankee benevolent paternalists were not precluded from initiating innovative ways and means to enable Black Northern and Southern citizens to take make the most of their limited public and private as well as parochial opportunities.

Decision-makers selected the viable option that they declared the only real alternative, and posthaste officially restricted their Church charities to elementary education and spiritual indoctrination in puritanical moralisms.

Nothing in previous American history either matched or the invaluable and indispensable charity that the Christian Churches in the North contributed to their Colored congregants in the South, but the unmatchable magisterial munificence of the ecclesiastical bureaucracies also was brutal deterrence-benevolence administered bureaucrats and technocrats who were limits-revering efficiency experts who specialized in overreaching hyperexclusive paternalism. For these (among other) reasons, the published records issued by their, certified public accountants to the contrary notwithstanding, Denominational Freemen's Societies were far less proficient social redeeming agencies and cultural structural change organizations than the Northern Churches believed their surrogate missionary institutions to be.

Howbeit a more implicit than explicit target-specific standard operation, precise or imprecise rational design was an elementary element as evident as the unmistakable fact that in being Evangelical Protestants and organized to beat the devil they continued their church history and the distinctive contribution of Evangelical Protestantism to the distinctive Americanization process. Self-definition by means of outlining the nature and purpose of a Denominational institutional agency, and detailing the objective of the bureaucracy through specifying its narrow and broad limits, was the rational organization hallmark of post-Revolution secular and sacred institutionalization that distinguished national and multi-national corporations.

But the irrational complemented the rational as the powerful ying and yang of the culture, whose continuum they also could not escape without ceasing to exist. Extraordinary external forces most certainly polarized the civil community throughout the postbellum decades, and produced universal penetrating and ir-

resistible extreme conflicts of Christianity and civility that were naturally internalized by churchmen isolated and insulated within the interior boundaries of church compounds.

It is arguable that these Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethics Churches and ecclesiastical corporations determined their mission was a purely parochial and private one, and thus deliberately rejected the parson and parishioner public servant engaged in public service task-responsibility bequeathed by historic Puritan Piety.

What remains inarguable is the fact that outside intrusions sharply curtailed the full development of social ethics potential inherent in the Freedmen's Societies, and the Black churches and colleges they established.

These counterdemanding religious and social, political and economic, educational and legal church and civil conflicts of interest persisted within the internal dynamics empowering the Evangelical Protestant Churches and churchmen who selectively disengaged from American Civil Religion, aggressively proclaimed they were in but not of the world, and promptly paraded their philanthropic societies for private relief, parochial uplift, and public avoidance as they stuck a feather in their cap and called their class and consociations' considerable contributions to color caste consolidation Yankee Doodle Dandy charity.

But just as these ecclesiastical entrepreneurial enterprises marketed liberty as limitative freedom in the major metropolitan media markets effectually, and their emissarial mum is the word and method free marketeers of munificence managed reality by being messengers who delivered the message as effectively as they communicated their unlimited class and limited caste civil and church power politics participation conscious intentions and consequences, just so strikingly these agencies and agents proved their Protestant philanthropy was more but not less than systematic and systemic deterrence-benevolence.

Their proselytization of Black Protestants, and prostitution of Protestant principles of peace and prosperity produced by professors preaching and practicing their *agape*-love/justice/power ethic in not only the parochial (church) and private (corporation) but also the public (civil) secular and sacred sectors, proceeded apace the success of Evangelical evangelism and revivalism.

This Christianization-Civilization-Colonization commenced with conversion and completely turned on the will to provide a saving, regenerating, and nurturing context for each human being. The missionization method and message managed the belief that the (private) individual reborn in (parochial) community would redeem and be redeemed by the community, and the redeemed person and persons forming a conscious collective conscience would move in tandem to redeem the (public) secular and civil national society.

Yet as missionaries-ministers of the power elite Churches conducted the conversion of Christianity and civility from proslavery to antislavery sacred and secular religions, and the color class from slaves of Christians and Christian slaves to caste Christians, little serious consideration was given by these postbellum major (compared to competing minor) prophets of Protestant philanthropy to securing for the cultivated and coveted cast of color the opportunity to develop in the cultural conflict and compromise competition as a race-minority with the ethnic-minorities even though these rule of law rulers knew the normative majority rule and minority right rational relations was a given of American Civil Religion.

Exactly due to these artificial constraints of the class over caste culture that this class of culture determiners condoned rather than corrected in church

and state united Christianization-Civilization-Colonization, even the vital, creative, and inspiring individual neither ruled the Christian community nor proved to be the rule. Protestant philanthropists identified themselves as responsible risk takers whose less safe than sane security stabilizing criterion of Christian change was the distinctive factor distinguishing them from the hero and heroine heretic.

Establishmentarian liberals and conservatives assessed the radical reform rationalist, acknowledged his/her dogmatic pragmatism (shielding pragmatic dogmatism) achievements were compelling common sense, competence, and courage of convictions that raised the standards and credibility of Christianity and civility, and moved as conventional wisdom to dismiss the mind-changing ethical plus political power ethics and ethicists rather than manners-managing moralists as exceptions to the rule of moderation conventional wisdom caught, bought, and taught.

As a result of an inflexible (more rigid than necessary) cost-consciousness, and insistence that their color caste class converts conform to the centrist consensus and adopt Protestantism's model middle-of-the-road approach, the philanthropist whom establishmentarian Protestants projected as the reborn paragon of virtue scarely removed racism and improved the caste-condoning church community and secular society nearly as significantly as he/she served as the Yankee individual symbol and sign, Protestant substitute for the Roman Catholic saint, and surrogate for the Puritan tribe who understood themselves called and chosen to be one visible and indivisible whole body of divisible saints.

In this revised role as the Yankee son of the wayward worldly Puritan saints and sinners, the born-again Evangelical power person functioned for the fashionable as an inspiring example for White professors--and attractive agency to be wondrously supported by grace and their gold given to gild their guilt. But this class of collective convenience constituted an inadequate model of expedience for the powerless, lowered more dramatically than they raised standards of ethical excellence for the Black masses, and revealed as missionary-minister messengers a message and method that managed rationally rather than measured or reversed the declining fortunes relative to the Black race's rising expectations clearly and perpetually.

Protestant philanthropic proselytizers were traditionalists who approved of and appropriated inner-directed evangelism and revivalism, a cyclically recurring local church renewal ritual distinguished by this narrow-focused revitalization purpose from the broader proselytization pattern of revivals conducted to convert the community at large and to connect the unchurched with one of the cooperating congregations.

Facilitated by the utilitarian form follows function revival method reason-riveted revivalists fashioned in the First Great Awakening (1730) and Second Great Awakening (1784), in the middle of the Third Great Awakening (1867), White race revivalists of the Black race in the South operationalized the fixed principle that local Evangelical churches ought to be (and normally were) regenerate communities of redeemed individuals daily demonstrating their social redeeming value in perpetual voluntary acts of generous charity.

These benevolent ways and means were not dysfunctional but functional instrumental values. And because these standard operating methods worked--as evidenced by the fact that they generated eleemosynary missions--Calvinists rationalized as not only reasonable but replete realism their more fashionable than fitting fusion of the neither indentical twin nor mutually exclusive but comple-

mentary central principles promulgated by the Apostles Paul and James, to wit, eternal salvation or justification (in history and eternity) by faith (the law as duty and obedience to authority rule of right that St. Paul established) and by works (the primacy of ethics prime premise and primary principle St. James prioritized).

As perceived and projected by the observant, the profane income transformed sacred income plus religious-intensive yet secular-effective outcome of the sectarians' designed either parochial- and/or both private- and public-targeted missions guaranteed the eternal salvation of each soul among the great unwashed masses, because the capitalized spiritual and rational principles formed a structure for professionals to properly conduct effectively the efficient and sufficient process of nurturing the body and correcting the mind of each human being.

Through the skillful implementation of this mechanism by experts, churchmen fulfill at the level of pure intention (irrespective of whether the consequences of the consecrated actions achieve their objective) the primary purpose of the Church.

As understood by Evangelical traditionalists, the technically designed revival method was developed for the born-again to carry out faithfully the Millennial rule: Evangelical Christians were commanded and thereby duty-bound to prepare the way for and thus induce the earlier arrival of the anticipated Millennium than otherwise could be expected, to continue before and after its commencement (at the end of history and beginning of eternity) to cooperate with its mission (essential preparation for the Second Coming of Christ in the presumed sufficient time of one thousand years), and to essay toward this ultimate end justifying the means by establishing in the individual (private person), church (parochial community) and world (public universe) the efficient space for the Kingdom of God to surface on planet earth.

This antebellum and postbellum organizing rational principle passed for the objective mission of the Evangelical World Alliance of Protestant Churches. From this perspective pro-gradualism leaders of these major Denominations preponderantly viewed pro-immediatism as a Devil-initiated distraction, creating the New Abolitionists' universal and unconditional instant abolitionism a danger-intensive subversive disruption of the status quo.

This outlook functioned logically as a rational justification for their pro-Colonizationist values that were based on the antiabolitionist premises from which Protestant officialdom rigidly defended their antislavery-proslavery neutrality priority principle. It certainly prevailed among the influential and affluential Calvinists and Arminians in their Evangelical quest for universal Protestant unity and religious hegemony.

Advocates of New Abolitionism frustrated these primarily sectarian rivals who were united by their opposition to these adversaries in this fragile ecumenism facilitated by their common world-class ambition. New Abolitionism was introduced by a minority of observant and creative Protestant reformers. New Abolitionists set the standard of

> equally sharp and constructive deviation from the Evangelical attitudinal and behavioral norm underpinned by the establishment majority, and demonstrated conclusively their disparate sincere intentions, different serious purposes, and distinguishable flexible and interchangeable hierarchal order of high principles and highest priorities.

Among the North American Evangelical churchmen who exercised leadership during the antebellum decades, immediatism was an preferred interest for the New Abolitionists exclusively. New Abolitionism, consequently and subsequently, re-established and revitalized the public interest-directed Puritan Piety ethic. While they commenced with commitment to the abolition of bondage and caste, and ended by concentrating only on the former, nonetheless, although they disengaged idealism to engage realism, in the process of revising the rule they set the precedent in North America that the postbellum Social Gospel vanguard neither advanced nor approached--namely, Protestant parson and parishioner direct actionists initiating rational, rapid, and radical constructive change of the proslavery social structures.

Compared to the major force for biracial equalitarianism that the New Abolitionists constituted in the antebellum decades, the biracial Republican Reconstructionists were radical egalitarians. Their development of the developing but undeveloped and underdeveloped continuum was an ethical line broken by the post-Reconstruction Protestant Social Gospel movement of theological, social, and fiscal liberals.

In the face of the color caste condition, the class of clergy cut their conscience to suit the nineteenth- and twentieth-century criteria of class and caste civility. They were moving against the Millennial mainstream and evangelism-revivalism Evangelicalism, and with the sophisticated and subtle White Protestant power elite: who managed terrorism by being neither antiterrorists nor proterrorists, rationalized they were not racists because their intellectual anti-Black race indifference was rational realism, and abandoned the Black masses to the respected Southern White Christian Democrats whose tolerance for the Ku Klux Klan was common knowledge.

THE HALFWAY PIETY AND PURITAN PIETY AND PURITAN-YANKEE OF PHILLIPS BROOKS

The Reverend Phillips Brooks (1835-83) reached his majority during the middle of the Civil War, shared the same birthplace and mid-antebellum birth year with Lyman Abbott, and was born in Massachusetts like Cotton Mather one hundred and seven years after Mather died. Also in the line of the Old New England families, the full names of Brooks and Mather identified two original Puritan families from which they derived a triple inheritance: They were sons of Puritans and Anglicans, Yankee clergymen and merchantmen, and Boston and Harvard.

Brooks matriculated (in 1851) at Harvard several months before his sixteenth birthday. Upon graduation (in 1855), he entered the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Alexandria, Virginia. Contemporary Episcopalians enjoyed the distinction of being the only major antebellum Denomination to negotiate the slavery issue and escape scot-free of either schism or internal debate of question in her judicatories. The Protestant Episcopal Church neither permitted the antislavery-proslavery discussion to reach the floor of the General Convention (supreme legislative body) nor formally divided into antislavocracy and proslavocracy factions prior to the Civil War.

This Northern-Southern ecclesiastical bond and tradition was not seriously singed by the Boston conflagration that Massachusetts Senator Daniel Webster's defense of the Fugitive Slave Act sparked, and the Kansas-Nebraska Compromise fanned. Brooks' burning controversy-free Church enhanced the pro forma nature

of the Boston brahman's trek to the South for his seminary education, and made the expansive slavocracy a matter of great irrelevance to the young theologue.

Brooks entered the Episcopal Theological Seminary in the fall term before the Dred Scott Case was argued (1856-57) before the United States Supreme Court, the Taney Court reached a decision in *Scott v. Sandford*, and Chief Justice Roger Taney ruled for the majority (of Southern justices) that no Black male (whether born free or freed) is a citizen of the United States. Brooks graduated from the Episcopal Seminary of Virginia in the year John Brown led his Black and White liberators in the daring raid at nearby Harper's Ferry. Throughout these years of theological preparation, Brooks' Puritan vintage and Harvard advantage may not have heightened his Yankee class consciousness relative to its depth of indiscriminate anti-Black race disinterest. And if the cultural anti-Black race values encouraged him to question the Southern Way of Life that he accepted at face value, his examination of these premises was one the few private exercises the great man elected not to share with the public when he wrote and published his rational thoughts and actions.

According to the custom of his peers--in that antebellum time and slavocrat-dominated space--degrading epithets hurled at and denigrating references to Black folk flowed as easily from the pen of this representative man of the English-Puritan race as they fell from the lips of Anglican slavemasters and White ethnic overseers.

Whether he was reflecting his New England and/or new Southern environment, during his years of professional training Brooks could compare Black males and females with "all the branches of agriculture from turnips down to darkies."

Although this reflection may not have been intended as a logical extension of his *Great Chain of Being* social conservative philosophy, he tendered the color caste/bondage class his merciless charity and brutal benevolence.

These cherished racist ruminations revealed the conscious charity and concern of the Harvard and Episcopal man, as he arranged his "most desperate articles" to bestow

> them upon greasy and grateful children of Africa, who are the common recipients of everything, from kicks to coats, that white people won't put up with.[206]

Nineteenth-century Episcopalians managed to avoid any slavery schism in their national ranks (before the Southern secession left the equally surprised and shocked but far less black than gray and ultimately overwhelmingly blue Northern body), to divide on Halfway Piety and spiritual matters like other major Denominations for whom the evangelism-revivalism tenets of Evangelicalism also generated serious strife and stains, and to created unlike other Evangelical Churches High Church and Low Church Episcopalian parties.

The Episcopal Seminary at Alexandria understandably was not necessarily easily interwined but inevitably inescapaby wedded with the Low Church party (Evangelical school). If Brooks was more indirectly than directly informed by the authentic Puritan Piety roots of his New England ancestors, and the transcendent idealism of genuine Yankee antislavery radicals, his rational thoughts were planted deep in the Evangelical tradition of his theological institution.

In spite (or because) of the social conservative Harvard tradition, at Alexandria Brooks was stamped for life in the order of Halfway Piety. And he emerged

from this parochial experience an intense fusion of individual (personal) piety and private moral motives with public political and civil cultural interests.

His ordination to the deaconate (June 1859) was solemnized by the slaveholding Episcopal Bishop of Virginia, the Right Reverend William Meade (1789-1862): the founder of the Seminary, leader of the Evangelical Southern-wing of the Denomination, and popular piety professor. Meade's Halfway Piety and puritanical moralisms were dynamic faith and ethics that he manipulated to validate his fundamental social vision, which included sheer contempt for the American Indian and resolute affection for Black slaves.

RECTOR BROOKS IN PHILADELPHIA DURING THE CIVIL WAR

Brooks left Virginia nurtured in pure Evangelicalism, and its peculiar Halfway Piety emphasis upon religious feelings and sentimental emotions: whose warmth and depth of individual devotion characteristically intensified inner-directed private moralism and disregarded outer-directed social change ethics in the long run. He appreciated the magnetic potency and magnitude of the power potential inherent in Evangelicalism, combined skillfully logic with refined emotion and taste sensitivities, and developed the English Latitudinarianism and American Evangelicalism theologies from functional syncretism into a dynamic synergism.

Brooks innovatively designed and engineered religious humanitarianism and secular humanism values to fit his rational mystical and poetic piety. The creation effectively elevated American Anglicanism, and established a bridge between High Church and Low Church Episcopalianism.

As an elegant religious intellectual, Protestant rationalist mystic, and poetic orator, Brooks achieved national acclaim. In Philadelphia, Brooks was ordained (1859) a priest in the Church of the Advent he served as rector (1859-61), prior to relocating cross-town to serve as rector (1862-69) of the Church of the Holy Trinity.

His personal growth and professional development paralleled the rapid expansion of Holy Trinity from a medium size congregation into a large parish. The membership spiraled as the Civil War advanced in Pennsylvania to the point of the battlefield being so close at hand until Philadelphians were rife with apprehension of eminent danger, and pervaded with fear of an imminent battle in the streets of the City of Brotherly Love. Amidst this high anxiety and high intensity, Brooks wrote his father frequently concerning his pro-Union sentiments.

On September 19, 1862, he communicated his deep disappointment that in fighting Confederate General Robert Edward Lee's "rebels" the Union troops had failed "to make an end of them in Maryland." Brooks set his dashed hopes in perspective, as he recalled John Brown's biracial liberation initiative three years earlier, compared these two unsuccessful forces, and concluded that "Harper's Ferry was a bad business, and so is this which we hear to-day of Mumfordville."

Unlike his "distinguished kinsman, Wendell Phillips," Brooks was neither a New Abolitionist nor a pacifist nor an apolitical radical idealist. He followed his father in being equally opposed to New Abolitionism and the Confederacy. If Brooks' sympathetic biographer can be trusted as an objective investigator and appraiser of the values cherished by his Yankee parents in Massachusetts, his antislavery-proslavery neutral father was, by turns, an establishmentarian who had equated patriotism and principle with embracing the Buchanan-Lincoln policy of keeping the sacred antislavocracy-proslavocracy delicate balance as sa-

cred law and order, and "one of the many in Boston" who "preferred to keep the question in abeyance for fear it would lead to disrupting the Union."

An antebellum advocate of gradualism and adversary of immediatism, when the Civil War was declared Brooks found it more difficult than impossible to further delay giving serious consideration to the ethics of the slavocracy's legal system, legitimating the authority of states' rights, and condoning human bondage in perpetuity. In his support of President Lincoln and the Federal Union, Brooks was a partisan Republican Party power politics rector quite like the Federalist Party parson politickers.

Compared to the reactionary and radical Republicans extremes, the head of his Party was the standard deviation of the moderate norm whose pro-Union and anti-Black race interest policy was neither for nor against the slavocracy. Neither Lincoln's anti-Black race interest nor pro-White race interest policies but his fusion of territorial limited democracy and slavocracy set him in such tension with polar opposite Republicans until the conflict of principles could not be avoided successfully by any citizen sharing a fathom of the strong sensibilities Brooks possessed.

Lincoln Administered the White House under intense pressure from New Abolitionist and Radical Republican United States Senators, Representatives, and Generals, and finally followed their leadership that produced the Confiscation Acts (August 1861 and July 1862) which decreed every slave free within all the territories in rebellion against the Union. Lincoln announced (in September 22, 1862) his Emancipation Proclamation would take effect on January 1, 1863 to place pressure on the Confederacy, and to give the Confederate Government time to accept his limited democracy and slavocracy policy.

The Proclamation reflected his gradual emancipation program, and emancipated no slaves in the Confederacy, the territory retaken by the Union Army, and the slaveholding areas which remained loyal to the Federal Government.

Four days after the Chief Executive published his projected new policy, the Philadelphia rector confidently communicated his state of mind in a letter (September 26, 1862) that he addressed to his brother, William Brooks:

> I am sure for once we may go with the [New York] Tribune [edited by Horace Greely, the liberal gadfly of the Lincoln Administration whom conservative and moderate Republicans disliked] and say, God bless Abraham Lincoln.

Later that same evening Brooks wrote a note to his father, in which he expressed his unreserved joy for the anticipated narrow-scoped and pro-gradualism Emancipation Proclamation:

> We have been getting ready for it for a year. It remains to be seen whether we are wholly ready for it now. If we are as I hope we are, then it is the greatest and most glorious thing our land has ever seen. We have broken off at last our great iniquity and may go on our way with some hope of a blessing.[207]

The partisan Republican parson did not view Lincoln as the American pragmatist par excellence engaged in a compromise of principle, the master of the art of politics, and the dogmatic pragmatist engaged in pro-gradualism. Unlike the realists who the Chief Executive an anti-Black interest pragmatist, Brooks

embraced Lincoln as a pro-Black race interest idealist committed to immediate, unconditional, and universal abolition.

Clergyman Brooks' Episcopal lay leader/vestrymen father counseled him as a prototypical establishmentarian to keep his public politics private, and out of his parish administrations and parochial pulpit. This advice he appeared to respect when he honored the precept resolutely after the Civil War. Currently, however, Brooks' father felt compelled to reverse his son's enthusiasm over Lincoln's purely political strategies and tactics.

Rector Brooks understood that Lincoln predeliberately published his Emancipation Proclamation time schedule three months in advance of its effective date, with the unrealistic hope that it would induce a Confederate stampede from rebellion back to the Union. Brook wrote from his parish to state that he remained unconvinced of the wisdom inherent in Lincoln's rather more expedient and convenient than praiseworthy policy:

> I do no go into the raptures you do over that Emancipation Proclamation. It may be a very good thing, it may do a vast deal of good, but that remains to be proved; and it may prove a more nullity.[208]

Brooks was well-prepared by his father's communications for his initial attendance as an official delegate to a General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He described the lay and clerical delegates in this October 1862 supreme judicatory, reported that he was appalled when their characteristic antislavocracy-proslavocracy ambivalence continued amidst the national crisis--to the point of "shilly-shalling" over whether or not to vote in favor of the Protestant Episcopal Church giving official support to the Union--and declared the performance positively "disgraceful."

Conveying his reflections in a letter written (on October 24th) to his brother William, Brooks stated he was convinced that the preponderantly older gentlemen sitting in the legislative body for fourteen days as the ecclesiastical representatives of the Denomination might reflect "the learning" but did not personify the "spirit" of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He testified that it was as pro-Union as the Protestant Episcopal Church, South was pro-Confederacy.

Apparently concerned to prevent his brother, William Brooks, from escalating his anti-ecclesiastical skepticism of Episcopalian officialdom into cynicism, he pleaded with him to set his criticisms of the "thick coat of old-fogyism" in perspective and not to be so pessimistic as to give up on the Episcopal Church: "She's all right at the core, and I hope will show it yet."

George Brooks, his brother, joined the Union Army as the Union loyalty and patriotism of the twenty-seven year-old Episcopal priest turned from sentiment to commitment of his time and talent to ministering to soldiers and civilians serving the United States in the Civil War. High Church and Low Church Episcopalians divided like the Anglican Revolutionary War Patriots and Loyalists (Tories) and united in the convincement that it was un-Christian and unconscionable for priests to turn prophets in a culture caught in a crisis conduced by competing consciences and speak the truth to power and authority in error.

Preaching on controversial subjects was considered unprofessional and unbecoming and most certainly so uncharacteristic as to be the unthinkable for the social conservative cleric of high Christianity and civility cleric. But the inten-

sification of the War efforts and the Union cause incited the under thirty clergymen to contemplate violating the consensus custom code conventional wisdom constituted law and breaking their rules of etiquette.

The young lion girded up his loins to beard the old lions in their den, located on what he called the "great iniquity" Mason and Dixon Line in the center of Philadelphia, and at last elected to take a stand in the pulpit by addressing the problem of slavery in his forthcoming (1862) Thanksgiving homily.

He set his salvation sails to sail on his maiden voyage into the seas of social conscious controversy at the height of the domestic turbulence, concentrated on maneuvering amid the moving mixed blessing of the church and state united in American Civil Religion by concrete mixes of politics and morals that swirling winds of change driving tidal waves hurled upon the banks of the Delaware, and experimented in skillfully leaving the harbor for the shore that for sane and sound sense surgeons once upon a time seemed but no longer was safe and secure from mixing power politics and pure principles.

A master of the art of preaching persuasively, whose power inhered in the flawless homelitical gems the superb craftsman of homilies produced and polished for hearers and readers of his performed word, Brooks determined it best to be in even more complete control and command of the facts and figures as prepared for his highly unconventional introduction into the parochial pulpit of a controversial public issue that remained for his supersensitive social conservative congregants and cohorts a matter of conscience.

Even for a Sunday's child (fair and wise and good and gay) going on twenty-eight and growing in his genius, Brooks' measurable gifts and graces and relatively fully developed appreciation of his great strengths and weaknesses were remarkable. Evolving to reverse black magic (Black folk performed Word power essence and manifestation of African experience plus experiment in the Promised Land) with irreversible white magic (White folk reason and revelation in European logic and rhetoric), the professional myth and mystery magician managed with mirrors to reflect the image of a moralist who majored in minor manners and major morals but whose limits in the field of American Civil Religion left the minister of morality far from a social ethics specialist and close to a novice public ethicist.

He demonstrated the capacity to admit this limitation as he researched rich resources and searched for a solid authority upon whom to build the special consciousness-raising prose project he was developing for delivery in a sacramental celebration. Brooks discovered in a political book published earlier an analysis and conclusion drawn from documented data he found persuasive, and for his social science source and specialist the generalist chose John Elliott Cairne's (1823-75) *The Slave Power* (1862).

Following the educated non-specialist's study of Cairne's cost/benefit computation of the slavocracy's assets and liabilities, whose statistics argued the cancellation of the states' rights social contract that the cold calculating Chief Executive resisted on premises which proved the failure of pragmatism in a conflict between human race right and wrong champions, Phillips apprized William Brooks of his evaluation and concluded that it "seems to me a most masterly and exhaustive treatment of the subject."

This swiftly spiraling change in style and continuity in substance amid maturity before he was thirty was surprising for the progressive transformationist Episcopalian, precisely he had not been a young idealist but an optimist who viewed the pessimist as either a stubborn skeptic or a civic cynic. Brooks ad-

vanced as a neophyte ecclesiastical leader who previously had known the harm-intensive and liberty-limiting nature of slavery through first-experience, and given the crisis of the age a cursory glance because he followed cultural determiners who declared this moral convenience and expedience wisdom and/or the dictates of prudence (the feminine Puritan virtue) rather than courage (the masculine Puritan virtue).

Evincing characteristic modesty pervaded with an unusual mixture of astonishment and relief, the priest reported *amazing grace* best described the parish response to his call to oppose the unmixed evil, disclosed to his brother that the Philadelphians packed the sanctuary, and noted that the parishioners appeared to give undivided attention to "an anti-slavery sermon at Holy Trinity on Thanksgiving which doesn't seem to have done any special harm."

George Brooks died in battle (February 1863). This loss of his younger brother combined with similarly deeply felt vicarious suffering and terminal tragedies he shared with kith and kinsmen to precipitate a more passionate concern in the dispassionate rector, to expand his deep-seated resolve to reverse the reverence for Cavalier fortunes and favorites emitted by pro-Confederate Yankees, and to accelerate his direct involvement with Union civilians committing their private personnel and material resources to ending the Civil War. The next spring following the Emancipation Proclamation, Brooks decided neither to prepare a carefully crafted sermon nor to present a polished exposition but to deliver "a few words extempore" on Fast Day.

After focusing on the error of democracy's slavocracy, and the evil inherent in its "peculiar institution," what he espoused revealed neither an unmixed blessing nor serious concern for the best known possible right and good interest of Black Philadelphians, including the Black priest and parishioners of St. Thomas' Episcopal Church (the first all-Black Episcopal parish in North America), whose self-acting community comprised not only free born and fugitive but also slave self-liberators. But when compared with the Protestant Episcopal Church's official policy of antislavery-proslavery neutrality--and the contrasting pro-Union Pennsylvania Diocesan whose leadership of the clerical majority the dissenting minority illuminated--Brooks' antislavery homily easily allowed current and future revisionists of church and civil history to foster the false impression that left the uninitiated to mistake the Christian crusader for the Union cause a zealous New Abolitionist radical.

Contemporaries and historians, for whom Brooks was a sentimental favorite and the consensus outstanding Episcopal clergyman in the second half of the nineteenth century, regularly represented the pro-Union priest as a bold "prophetic soul." This caricature of the characteristic culture conservative seemed plausible because, in the middle of the Civil War, he deviated sharply from the proslavocrat (if not proslavocracy) Anglican norm and pronounced slavery "our great iniquity" and denounced the dehumanization the American anathema to the public.

In the aftermath of the Gettysburg Campaign (June-July 1863), the Philadelphia press reported that Brooks--who alternately confirmed the popular will of the majority and the conventional wisdom promoted by the establishment--reflected Lincoln's controversial policy of antislavocracy-proslavocracy neutrality. Investigative journalists published their finding, to wit, while influential Philadelphians remained convinced "it was not timely or proper to preach" abolition, Brooks possessed both no real alternative to the Lincoln Administration's calculated slavery in perpetuity policy and the courage of Lincoln's convictions:

> Would it not be a mockery before God to say that we have sinned, we have broken Thy laws, we have polluted Thy Sabbath and received in vain Thy grace, without alluding to the present sin of all,-- the blackest stain upon our country and the cause of all ruin and bloodshed and affliction that have been visited on our land,-- the black sin of slavery? Have we not that duty to perform, to pray for the removal of that great crime, that dark spot upon our country's history? And was this all? Were there not here among us persons whom we daily meet in social intercourse, who give not even a faltering support to the administration of the laws, who are not using the means that God has given them for the suppression of rebellion and treason; men who deprecate the extermination of the evil that has caused all our troubles? Was it not as much our duty to pray for the rebuke of the traitors in the North as for the discomfiture of the openly declared enemy in the South? It was the duty of the congregation to cultivate that firm unwavering loyalty to the government that would recognize no distinction between the open foe and the secret enemy.[209]

The stenographic notes and interpretation of the investigative journalist presumably paraphrased but reflected Brooks' pro-Union posture and the antislavocracy policy of the Philadelphia print media accurately. Their demonstrable American Civil Religion model, and Protestant pulpit (second estate) and press (fourth estate) united front to promote the Federal Government and challenge the status quo stabilization forces represented by secret agents aggressively marketing their competing claims and managing their profit margins, stood out in the City of Brotherly Love, apolitical conscientious objector Quakers exercising their religious convictions, and covert operators no less than overt operatives who shared values with fiscal and social conservative proslavocrat marketeers turned profiteers.

Synchronous asymmetry and symmetry surfaced with the representative figure and his mid-bellum conversion from positive rejection to positive acceptance of the slavery is sin, moral evil, and civil crime doctrine promulgated by pro-immediatism proponents--whose proabolitionism the antiabolitionist Episcopal Church and other establishment Denominations reviled as positive error throughout the antebellum years.

Brooks disclosed by means of this one hundred and eighty degree turn that neither all nor the plurality within the Northern Protestant Churches continued to argue the case for the antislavocracy/proslavocracy "sacred balance" of expedience and convenience being no compromise of principle.

PHILLIPS BROOKS AND THE UNION LEAGUE AS THE PURITAN PREJUDICE AND PRIDE OF THE YANKEES

Brooks emerged a partisan power politics priest in Philadelphia one hundred years after the Quakers removed their official Religious Society of Friends body and soul from Pennsylvania political governance, Quakers deliberately withdrew as a church and civil class from competitive participatory democracy and representative government citizenship, and abandoned unwittingly but no less decisively their powers-that-be to the Anglicans: their historic bitter enemies in England and America and current establishment firm friends and formidable foes

of Freedom Fighters.

Proslavery Quakers formed prior to the hostilities between the North and the South a minority who were leaving the majority, along with their antislavery tradition, and fast becoming members of the antiabolition-pervasive Protestant Episcopal Church. But, ironically, a paradoxical advocacy connective linkage emerged unintentionally between the two adversarial Denominations.

The pacifism-intensive Religious Society of Friends and proslavocrat-prone minority of Protestant Episcopalians guaranteed the peculiar Philadelphia concentration (compared to competing contemporary cosmopolitan centers) of anti-Union and anti-Lincoln sentiment. A statistically significant number of Philadelphians harbored this surfacial and shallow style and substance, which fed and fed upon the culture malaise that Brooks castigated as the plague of pure patriotism and simple loyalty. This convincement impelled him toward a "larger ministry" of American Civil Religion among the citizens of the City of Brotherly Love.

As an additive to recommending civil expansion and exclusion of culprits, and advising "extermination of the evil," Brooks expanded his mission of private counseling, public service, and parochial preaching to extensive military assistance.

Waxing while compeers appeared waning or wanting in the public servant role, the commonwealth endeavors orchestrated by the priest reached a cresendo with his concerted personal campaign "to overcome the indifference" of Philadelphians to the Union cause.

Just as he was fully backing and backed by the pro-Union Diocesan of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania, Bishop (1845-65) Alonzo Potter (1800-65), just so decisively Brooks' outright promotion of the Union and total defense of the Federal Government's Civil War efforts fused in the appearances as an exemplary exercise of independent thought and action by a bold brahmin in a strange and hostile environment.

Admirers claimed that Brooks evolved as the first among equals in the front ranks of the Philadelphia common sense, conscience, and courage cadre who challenged competing Episcopalians. The value judgement seemed validated as these certified credibility and competence characteristics upspringing from antislavocracy principles converged with their personal authority in the parochial power circles, where their point of view diverged decisively from the value-neutral and value-free policy of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church that did not sanction support of the Union Army by the Denomination.

Official neutrality in the Civil War was one thing as the polity of the Episcopal Denomination, given that fact that she was anything but a pacifist Church, and quite another matter as doctrinal law and dogmatic order of the nonviolent Religious Society of Friends. Yet their different intentions, purposes, and objectives produced the nearly identical consequence of intensifying the fear pervading Philadelphians that sprang from the more real than imagined threat of a Confederacy invasion of their City of Brotherly Love.

Of course inevitability in human history seemed often approached but never surpassed by ecclesiastical maximalism and minimalism respective Episcopal Church and Quaker Church contraries. But whether or not produced by the parochial interest generated by investments of their secular and religious income, abrasive church and civil conflict was the one outcome of the maximal rather than minimal market margin-expanding Episcopalian-proslavery and Quaker-antiwar principles. Far fewer minimalists than maximalists relieved this strain,

produced by consciences in conflict as a result of conflicts of real interests and values, as reactionaries who counterclaimed that Brooks' pro-Unionism was divisive rather than unitive militancy.

Forthwith churchmen antagonists of the Yankee-Puritan Bostonian created the impression that the persuaded Evangelical Episcopalian was neither either a theological and social or a political nor an economic conservative but one of the alternating overt and covert "New England radicals" operating as a secret agent (rather than undercover) to make Philadelphia (dominated by centuries-old Quaker- and Anglican- foes of Calvinist-Puritans) another Boston: controlled by secular and religious Yankee sons of Orthodoxy, who as Calvinist capitalists and wayward worldly saints were revitalized revisionists engaged in completing the *Puritan Errand into the Wilderness* of North America. His opponents who asserted that this negative perception is reality believed it to be confirmed as Brooks rushed to take up the loyalty and patriotism cudgels to defend the Union.

This public demonstration was inescapable when addressed the initial Philadelphia meeting of the Union League (in February 1863) that pro-Union Republicans formed--as a hyperexclusive club of Northern White power elite males--to coordinate resources the private sector amassed to guarantee the successful implementation of the Federal Government's Civil War and postbellum principles, policies, and programs.

Inarguably, what surfaced and soared amid this state of crisis was Yankee Brooks' Puritan birthright: antiblack white-ethnic virtue apropos the public interest-directed ethical and military action of authentic Puritan Piety. During the national emergency, the public service role of the public servant priest was elevated in priority over his equally valued Episcopal tradition (which he managed to keep separate and distinct from the Anglican antislavocracy-proslavocracy polity of neutrality). This militant pace accelerated as the Confederate troops--commanded by General Robert Edward Lee--defeated the Union soldiers at Chancellorsville (May 1863), and marched into Pennsylvania (June 1863).

Brooks revealed his frustration and anxiety when he wrote his father regarding the Union League's endeavors to recruit a regiment of Pennsylvanians to defend against Lee's second invasion of the North. In spite of the threat to Harrisburg (located one hundred and twenty miles south of Philadelphia), wrote it was shameful that the League could muster only one thousand men. Reflecting on the relative absence of Pennsylvanians and presence of "New Yorkers and New Englanders" fighting to secure the northern perimeter of southern Pennsylvania, Brooks, exclaimed that in this instance he was entirely

> ashamed of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania,
> and proud as usual of New England.

In his diary (of June 27, 1863), Brooks wrote that Lee's Confederate Army was at Carlisle--one hundred miles south of Philadelphia:

> And yet the city is perfectly quiet and a
> terrible apathy is keeping everybody idle.

As the final battle of Gettysburg was being waged (July 1-3) he remained in Philadelphia on alert, and, instead of observing the holiday by taking a vacation outside the metropolis as per usual, Brooks journeyed to the Gettysburg battle-

field where he ministered (July 8-12) to the Union soldiers--25,000 of whose comrades lay dead alongside a comparable number of opposing combatants--and to their "rebel prisoners."[210]

PHILLIPS BROOKS' ANTIWAR WHITE QUAKER AND PROWAR BLACK METHODIST FELLOW PHILADELPHIANS

Compared to the traditional pacifism and social structural change strategies of the Friends--which their eighteenth-century Southern Anglican and nineteenth-century proslavocrat adversaries declared disruptive rather than constructive--Quakers appeared to be political and theological liberty-intensive and harm-limiting liberals.

This perspective persisted along with the truth that their civil law and order policy of gradualism, and ecclesiastical minority complex (embracing hyperexclusion as a survival technique centering around avoiding the majority and thereby escaping absorption), consisted of coordinating a social conservatism that seemed to be a remarkable contradiction of the Quaker nature, meaning, and function.

Earlier than any other American ethnic minority, the German ethnic minority distinguished themselves from English majority dominating the Religious Society of Friends by initially promoting Old Abolitionism in Germantown (a suburb of urban Philadelphia).

Less than one hundred years after these German Quakers published the first American antislavery protest (in 1688), the English-dominant Quaker Puritans set the Old Abolitionist standard--perforce declaring slavery one inextricable religious sin, moral evil, and civil crime--by which criterion every other Protestant organization was forced to measure its sacred and profane social redeeming value.

One century before Brooks arrived in Philadelphia, Quakers eclipsed all alternative White race/ethnic-dominant national Churches when the Religious Society of Friends enacted and enforced the ecclesiastical law mandating total abstention from any conscious proslavery connection as a prerequisite qualification for membership in good standing in any Stated Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.

Subsequently, antebellum direct descendants of these Quaker Puritans consistently were in violation of Federal, State, and local laws. Persistently a creative minority consistently served as Stationmasters of safehouses along the Underground Railroad. Conductors guided Passengers to these safehouses with the certainty that these fugitives from legal injustice would find temporary security.

Forward from the synchronous birth of their slave-free Society and the nation through the rise of democracy's slavocracy to the outbreak of the Civil War, Old Abolitionist Quakers continued to subsidize-generously Black Underground Railroad Conductors and their Passengers by giving hundreds of antebellum runaways start-up resources.

These scarcely need-blind gifts and grants consisted of monetary and other tangible support resources that the Friends fully intended and expected would generate independent stability.

The reputation of Quakers for being in deed as good as their word matched for efficaciousness the strategic City of Brotherly Love national headquarters of the American Religious Society of Friends--as Philadelphia was located on the Delaware River within hiking distance of the slave states. The Old Abolitionism

Quaker factor enhanced the evolvement of liberal gradual manumission acts in Pennsylvania, and the development of the City of Brotherly Love into a magnet metropolis that attracted Black Americans who concentrated there in a statistically significant greater numerical number than they resided in other pre-1840s Northern urban-suburban centers. The complexity of these micro religious and secular moral variations on the American Civil Religion pattern were increased by demographic variables--plus the additive macro realities inclusive of Philadelphia's emergence as the first cultural, economic, and political capitol of the United States. Together these church and civil confluences generated the cause and effect of the City of Brotherly Love being the early antebellum Black American center for liberty and independence.

This formation was a predictable response to the negative good (harm-limiting benevolence) Quakers majored in (as solidly as they minored in the more demanding positive good which required the English race representatives simultaneously to externally brace and internally embrace their Black race-specific cultural kin-group). The ecclesiastical ethic expanded along with the public-produced anti-Black race values. Both the sacred and secular values were sustained in the personal determination of Friends to liberate Black bondmen and bondwomen from human bondage, to secure the free-born and freed no less than the fugitive from physical harm and bodily injury more unstintingly than from spiritual and mental cruelty, and to exclude the color caste/bondage class from private and parochial Quaker societies.

Thus it was neither inevitable nor surprising that also in Philadelphia exslaves established the 1787-organized and 1794-founded Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church, from which evolved the first independent Black American Denomination --the African Methodist Episcopal Church (1816). Paralleled by the progressive development of constructive profane and sacred self-help societies, that other Black religious and secular consociations organized to advance the civil community, the A.M.E. Denomination created and sustained an impressive variety of self-help societies that aided Black Americans from womb to tomb.

A.M.E.Z. and A.M.E. churchwomen and churchmen formed the leadership corps of the Philadelphia and Eastern Shore Grand Central Terminals of the Underground Railroad. These female and male engineers along with other Black compeers were not only Passengers and Conductors but--with the Quakers--the major Stationmasters on the Underground Railroad. Their urban-suburban, small town, and rural sanctuaries for runaways funneled more fugitives into the Northern political economy than Yankee-Puritans secured in their homes. And, as in the case of every previous American war, Black men were volunteer soldiers in the Civil War (fighting with the Union Army in disproportionate numbers relative to Black Southerners in the Confederate Army). Compared to White race/ethnic Philadelphians, Black Pennsylvanians were most certainly their equal as defenders of the Union.

Phillips Brooks reached the conclusion that instead of human bondage being a special interest opposing the general interest, and as such a major rather than the only difficulty compounded by complexity comprising the *American Dilemma*, slavery was the only compromise of principle in the White Gentlemen's Agreement or conflict of interest in their Union and Constitution, the pure reason for the War between the States, and the problem whose simple solution is "the extermination of the evil."

To save the Union (by ending slavery) and not the Black body and soul, or her sole interest in obtaining salvation in history that entailed securing com-

petitive citizenship for the color caste class, was the cause and effect of Phillips Brooks' Civil War conversion from an antiabolitionist to a proabolitionist. This expanding Union cause contracting commitment to securing the civil liberties and rights of the color caste class are revealing when set in this City of Brotherly Love context.

JIM CROW AND PHILLIPS BROOKS IN PHILADELPHIA

Brooks not only shared values with Black Civil War soldiers, including the premise that right justifies might and the principle of engaging power politics and military force to secure true and real interests, but he also shared power with anti-political and antiwar Quakers. Prior to the Civil War the Philadelphia priest did not rigorously promote New Abolitionism or vigorously support the fugitives. This marginal Moral Reform record was not the his being too young to care, since he was old enough to express his anti-Black race values. Doubtless his Boston establishment family and education and Evangelical Episcopalian professional training among the Virginians were basic learning communities in which his social conservative sacred and profane persuasions were developed and reinforced.

Approaching the color caste cultural crisis in this cost-conscious cautious mode and mood, the representative Evangelical and Anglican Puritan priest proceeded as a presence of indifference conspicuous by the absence of disinterest. As a walking contradiction in terms, he differed decisively from the Quaker Puritan Old Abolitionists and even more decidedly from the Philadelphia Black New Abolitionists. Quite on a par with White race/ethnic folk, Black-race Americans understood life and liberty to be prerequisites for the full development of each person, and the two-in-one human species essence preceding existence established by Divine Providence for the improvement of the human condition, which, together with Creator-endowed reason and conscience, they affirmed to be the constituent elements of a human being.

Black Americans were as absolutely as White citizens that these essentials are so indispensable as to be worth securing for themselves (as well as future Black folk) by any necessary means possible. They demonstrated their complete convincement that no expense would be spared to obtain salvation in history and eternity, including the high cost and too expensive market dictated one for self-determination and equal access to the system. Thus even violence, civil disorder, and the voluntary sacrifice of one's life was not too dear a price to pay to purchase citizenship.

But in the antebellum era where the choice between gradualism and immediatism was a prerogative for the privileged classes who enjoyed liberty in freedom at the expense of the color caste/bondage class, Brooks was a philosophical and theological social (as well as political and economic) conservative who sided with the antislavery Quakers, who were antiabolitionists like and unlike the Episcopalians and other establishmentarian churchmen.

Thus he was not for but against the New Abolitionist Black Philadelphians and Bostonians as squarely as he opposed his kinsman Wendell Phillips. However, the partisan party power politics parson temporally joined with not only Black Evangelicals and Republicans but also radical Yankee-Puritans--who recovered and revitalized the militant military and political Puritan Piety tradition. Their Civil War alliance effectively opposed apolitical and pacifistic New Abolitionist Yankees like William Garrison and Wendell Phillips, who appeared to have con-

verted from Calvinist Puritans into Quaker Puritans.

The secession followed as fast upon the heels of Brook's relocation in Philadelphia as the next moment after the declaration of war in which instant he issued his decision to support the military defeat of the states in rebellion. Brooks' loyalty-to-the-Union litmus test of patriotism severely limited his tolerance for traitors, patience with pacifism, capacity to comprehend Friends Quaker non-politics and nonresistance.

Immediately the prowar parson and novice parish priest was tried, tested, and nearly tempted beyond his strength. Doubtless existence amid this intense heat and emerging from his baptism under fire, to which his feet seemed to be held by crusaders filled with nonviolence and apolitical burning desire while riding chariots of charity and chasing the champions of challenging conflagration, were contributing factors to his underdeveloped appreciation for politics-intensive and military-minded Black self-liberationists, who were willing to fight to secure their liberty in freedom and his beloved Union.

Given these civil constraints and complaints, proslavocrat/antislavocracy double mindedness and divided will moved with all deliberate speed toward antislavocrat single-mindedness. Brooks' rational objective and subjective undivided mind and will was united to achieve the war and slavery common objective, but therein the Black caste/bondage and White class object and subject was split between Black folk who were willing to make the supreme sacrifice and White folk who were unwilling to soldier. This objective reality Brooks understood as positively as during the Revolutionary era the identical logic lesson was not lost on the pro-American Anglican slavemasters who compared the Black Patriots to the White Tories and freed their slaves with the birth of the nation.

During the Civil War and its immediate aftermath, Brooks' Evangelical Puritan indoctrination and military Yankee inheritance enabled him to support the freedmen as strongly as he ignored the antebellum fugitives. On this precise corner connecting positive good and negative good philanthropy, the progressive transformationist temporarily turned down the regressive anti-Black race interest policies negotiated by Yankee-Puritan Protestant establishmentarians in New England. In this transient transformation, Brooks also demonstrated he possessed just enough efficient and appropriate sufficient grace and wisdom to be temporarily but not enough to be permanently properly grateful to Black soldiers who fought and died to advance the national values, interest, and security.

Along with the color caste class, Brooks not only critically compared the special interests of Philadelphia to the general interests but also celebrated her contributions to the United States with equally good reason and conscience. He counseled his brother (William Brooks) not to underestimate Philadelphia, and proclaimed proudly as the War progressed that "she's a splendid city." He acknowledged his own disappointments were due to the same reasons that "Northern people are apt to sneer at us"--who equate Philadelphians with nonresistant Quakers and pro-Confederate Episcopalians--but certified that no other metropolis "has done more for the war," by way of prowar private-citizen philanthropists recruiting "regiments" and funding the "Sanitary and Christian Commissions," or "for Freedmen."

His universally empirically verifiable claim was validated by the decreasing influence of Quaker pacifists relative to the increasing recruiting efficiency of the all-White male Union League, with whose success in soliciting White ethnic immigrant volunteers the recruitment of Black soldiers by Black recruiters compared favorably.

Hence when it is recalled that immediately after the Revolution a minority of Patriot Anglican slavemasters distinguished themselves from Church of England Loyalists (Tories) by freeing hundreds of the bondage kith and kin of Black Patriots, it is not surprising that gratitude was given expression by Brooks for the color caste class survivors of the Black Union Army front line combatants of Confederate Army challengers of the United States.

Four months before Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse (April 9, 1865), Brooks was prepared to make a protest speech against Jim Crow public transportation in Philadelphia. Free-born and freed non-citizen Black males were fighting with and against Northern and Southern White ethnic males--who were the only citizens--as valiantly as considerably fewer numbers of their slave brethren fought both alongside their slavemasters and for the Confederacy.

Save for exceptions proving the rule such as the slave transformed domestic household servants, the church and civil life of all but the few and far between and as hard to find Black Philadelphians generally and Episcopalians particularly was equally insulated and isolated from the societal and ecclesiastical existence of upper-class and middle-class Holy Trinity Church parishioners. Brooks' predecessors in the parish office were participants in this design and desired effect. Partly for the purpose of maintaining a minimal multiracial and maximal Black and White separate and distinct Episcopal power and authority, they joined the Diocese priests in establishing the all-black St. Thomas' Episcopal Church.

Ecclesiastical like civil segregation and discrimination proceeded apace and appeared a difference without a distinction. The homes of rector Brooks' parishioners were attended by Black maids and chauffeurs at a level whose statistical variance from other power elite Philadelphians was scarcely a quantifiable difference. Perchance Brooks viewed parochial hyperexclusion either hyperorthodoxy or both more expedient and convenient than necessary but in any case a private arrangement. This possibility is enhanced by the public humiliation of Black Philadelphians on city buses, that he considered neither functional nor tolerable:

> A week from to-night (January 13) we are going to have a great meeting here to try to get rid of our special Philadelphia iniquity of excluding the negroes from the cars. I think it will work. The meeting will be held either in Concert Hall or the Academy of Music.

Clearly Brooks progressed rather than retrogressed in relation to the Protestant Episcopal Church's official neutral position, and policy of neutrality in the matters of color caste class Episcopalians securing from the ecclesiastical and civil powers the church and state self-determination and representation civil liberties and civil rights conferred on White congregants and citizens, with the ministerial minority of moral moderates in the diocese who had moved off dead center and the deadly middle ground beneath which centrists buried the Denomination's color caste class.

Certainly the class of Christianity and civility clergy placed nothing so much as ethical distance between their personal race and American Civil Religion public position and the Denomination's policy, on the one hand; demonstrated as they advanced the continuum the fact that traditions die hard partly because

dynamic cultural customs are energized by the change and constancy dynamism, on the other hand; and, just as the Episcopal Church and the Congregationalist Church never engaged in a conscious catharsis and exorcise of bondage from their ecclesiastical bodies but as the church and state united types in theocracy and democracy merely followed the civil law, on yet another hand, failed to distinguish and therefore to begin to extinguish the parochial priorities and private preferences constituting the prerogatives of privilege that the power elite secularists and sectarians insisted upon and *ipso facto* fueled the anti-Black race interest historic and current rule of law in the cultural, civil, and church sectors.

If Brooks--the Evangelical Anglican who earned high praise from the Protestant power elite as their universally peer respected great and good Yankee-Puritan--failed to appreciate the culture-pervasive corruptive power of the anti-Black race real interests and values underpinning, overriding, and surviving slavery, unlike the complete New Abolitionist and Republican Radicals with whom he linked his spirit tentatively while withholding his will permanently, it was not because he encountered extraordinary ethicists but lacked the capacity to engage ethical excellence as progressively.

On the contrary, just as the moderate moralist distinguishing factor of the Moral Reformer was not lost on the progressive transformationist, just so incontrovertibly Brooks knew the difference between an antiabolitionist and proabolitionist made all the difference in the world to the civil and church citizenship chances of the color caste class.

The perceptive priest's depth perception was revealed in his descriptive facts and value judgments that he published concerning the Freedmen's Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the trustees who appointed as their chief ecclesiastical "engineer" a "pro-slavery man":

> I have yet to see the man who is not an abolitionist who is really bravely and strongly in favor of giving them the rights and the education of freedom.

Brooks testified that he preferred nonsectarian Evangelical Protestant Freedmen societies, like the ecumenical American Freedmen's Union Commission executive secretary Lyman Abbott administered, and gave serious consideration to the relative worth of the denominational and interdenominational alternatives as he prepared (on March 4, 1865) to attend a meeting the very "next week" of the Freedmen's Society in Harrisburg. He made this pertinent point in his letter to his brother (William Brooks):

> Still, if the Episcopal Church in Boston wants to help the negro let it try. It won't do the negro any harm, and will do itself great good.[211]

RECTOR BROOKS' NATIONAL PROMINENCE AND HEIGHT OF INDIFFERENCE TO BLACK FOLK

Brooks appeared to join the Radical Republicans who were bent on developing the undeveloped universal and unconditional immediate dual abolition of bondage and caste unique and distinct mandate of original New Abolitionism, that the antebellum New Abolitionists managed to initiate and abandon as swiftly for the one-dimensional abolition of slavery rational means and ends objec-

tive.

His reversal in form and function from a realist reformer to a radical revolutionist took shape in the appearances of the revisionist realism ratiocinators as permanent rather than impermanent reality, because the transubstantiation out of progressive transformationism occurred with the immediacy of the unconditional surrender.

This in indelible impression of an enduring radical and rapid rational structural change revolutionist seemed validated by his verifiable progressively less antiabolitionist and more proabolitionist posture. The public law and order corrective action of the middle-class morality and respectability model minister developed in the Philadelphia corridor in which Quaker opposition to both slavery and war concentrated. But the changing content of his convincement and unchanging courage of his convictions revealed a minimalist rather than maximalist conscience, and a random cyclical reformer rather than a linear progress redeemer of social values, as the radical rationalist appeared during the Civil War and disappeared with Reconstruction.

Just as Brooks the public ethicist and public servant engaged in social redeeming public service matured, and approached the height of his social vision and direct actionist creative connection of rational thought and action, the Civil War ended and he moved from Philadelphia to relocate his ministry in Boston. Just so dramatically, Brooks surrendered the newly recovered authentic Puritan Piety and reverted to Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethics. He majored in maximizing Halfway Piety minimalism and minimizing Puritan Piety maximalism, advancing the White folk subtle and sophisticated less is more and good enough for Black folk public good principle that philanthropists preached and practiced in parochial and private power circles.

Few Protestant power parsons matched and none surpassed the priest in the development of this highly polished elitist theology for the enrichment of the White race/ethnic individual existing at advantage above the disadvantaged Black-race masses. Brooks effectively evolved from his dialectical Anglican Latitudinarianism thesis and Episcopal Evangelicalism antithesis a cultural elite Halfway Piety synthesis, whose failure was exceeded only by the success he enjoyed with his parallel progression in Episcopalian theology and dramatic reversion to social conservatism. Almost from the moment he accepted the Boston appointment, Brooks refrained from further involvement in serious and sustained direct action to secure rapid and radical constructive change of American social structures.

The High Church and Low Church extremes of the Episcopal Denomination produced tension, flexibility, and permissive fusion of aesthetic mystical rationalism with the absolute certitude of Evangelical logic. In this industrial revolution and capitalism age emerged the end of the Robber Barons and beginning of the blight of Black Bostonians. They differed imperceptibly from their color caste class cousins who were caught in frightful Reconstruction-generated insecurity and unsecurity, the flight from Southern political oppression, and the plight of Northern economic repression. Brooks emerged in this "Black nadir" excited by the ideal of rugged individualism, the ideology of entrepreneurial industrial capitalism, and the idea of risk-intensive free enterprise exploits and exploitation beginning and ending in individual initiative producing and accumulating wealth and power.

Affluent capitalists at the helm of the free market and free enterprise system were proliferating, becoming prominent Protestant philanthropists, and de-

veloping from the Victorian Age of imperialism into a twentieth-century American presence of fabulous wealth. Moral power and their influence and affluence linear progress were fused and confused in the mind of positive possibilities thinkers. Their success was a fact that Brooks would not argue with, and a reality that made it difficult for him to cease and desist from perpetuating a theology and gospel of social salvation achieved by individual initiative and industry, growth and expansion of wealth, and gifts and grants of philanthropy to parochial and public communities.

Commensurate with the liberal and conservative alliance of moderate Reconstruction era Republicans, who forged a formidable force take back control of the Republican Party from the Radical-Reconstruction of-the-South-Republicans, Brooks' advancing withdrawal into silent treatment of the Black race's dehumanization condition turned from an orderly retreat into a rout as he rushed from Black folk who were fast losing their Reconstruction-derived self-determination. If only in the perception, fixed there as result of comparing the public posture of the moderate Republican clergyman and the radical Republican churchmen, Brooks appeared to renounce the Puritan promise to actualize pro-Black race (together with pro-White race) true and real interests and values, and to announce the rapid decline in significance of the social redeemers, to wit, the bold Boston brahmins, New England Protestants, and the Denominational spokesmen whom critics of the Christian humanitarians pronounced dead upon his arrival in Boston.

What only seemed natural and necessary or inevitable most certainly was understandable: Reconstruction birth and death rites of the Black race were not attended by Brooks with the same amount of intensive and extensive talents, time, and energy that he contributed immediately during after the Civil War.

The precipitating ecclesiastical and civil causes contributing to his quick change from a liberal direct actionist to a more indirect than objective participant observer can be elucidated, but the explanation cannot explain away the fact that he rejoined the progressive standpattism movement as plainly as he stood out in the crowd of outstanding postbellum Protestant professors and performers. Whether or not he made the most of his opportunities in Boston, the doors of opportunity opened wide in his home town for the brilliant brahmin. There his plethora of choice life after the death of the Radical Republican Reconstruction experiment compared to the poverty of possibilities conditions the Black race survived.

Another significant difference between the outcaste and the class of the caste was their new experience with bodily liberty, the constituent element of a human being that Brooks automatically inherited and accepted as a human condition natural right and law of nature. Self-determination, whose nature and purpose in reality the Constitution asserted begin and end in the mutual engagement of individual and community freedom and responsibility, Black folk no sooner commenced to realize perforce their relative access to participatory democracy than the Republicans reversed the rule and ruled the Radical Reconstruction experiment out of order.

Freedom in liberty was the absolute distinction between white folk and their human bondage ensnared kith and kin which freedmen gratefully achieved--but would have maximized the benefit and minimized the liability more efficiently, like Brooks, both at risk and advantage predominantly rather than disadvantage preponderantly. Unlike the few black exceptionals relative to the entire black race, Brooks, like many white folk, was well-positioned in the Union of life and

liberty for the pursuit of happiness by the white ethnic individual to turn the assest of freedom into capital gains.

Perchance the last nineteenth-century prince of the pulpit, who both combined excellence of thought with elegance of expression and produced equally eloquent and sound sense--whose power made a profound impression within and beyond the ecclesiastical boundaries, Brooks' transition from a stellar rector to a national influence advanced at an accelerated pace following his year of reflection on the European Continent (August 1865-September 1866) following the Civil War armistice. Upon his return, he declined the first invitation (tendered in the fall of 1868) to fill the office of rector of Trinity Episcopal Church in Boston. But the extraordinary pressure generated by the leverage of his family, and the resourceful Episcopalians in his native city, created an irresistibly attractive opportunity in the form of a second offer he could not refuse--and Brooks accepted his election as priest (1869-91) of the rich and famous Yankee Anglicans.

Following the brief adjustment and firm settlement period after his Boston relocation, Brooks promptly supported moral, religious, and social reforms through indirect benevolent mechanisms and eleemosynary directives. Simultaneously, he concentrated his energies in directing a creative synthesis of American Civil Religion and cultural interests in Boston that approached the zenith reached by the genius of William Ellery Channing more than a quarter of century earlier. The difference between the master Puritans entailed Brooks being involved in descending rather than ascending the pinnacle of personal leadership in controversial social issues and public interest ethics. This reversal in the Puritan Piety pattern of leadership was managed by neither following conventional wisdom nor seeking consensus but forming the cultural elite behind his initiative as establishment leader of social change and constancy.

This deficiency in social structural change leadership arguably resulted far less from personal than from parochial constitutional constraints, since the slippage of serious interest in fundamental social reformation was an enlarging structural fault in the Episcopal Denomination. Discernible equally consequential factors were measurable, including the absence of a presence of potent priest peers with the capacity to charge and recharge Brooks' social conscience during the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras.

During this period of mobocrat terrorism, Social Gospel-liberal and progressive transformationist-conservative churchmen were neither proterrorists nor antiterrorists. This suspension of radical right righting radical wrong ostensibly was due to bondage being indisputable evil and error in the slavery era, whereas in the caste and lynch law era of mobocracy Protestant ethicists perceived no clear wrong to right. What they determined existed was a complexity of wrong compounded by rational alternatives that logic-skilled rationalists debated, and differed as reasonable men will do with regard to the merits of easily disputed proposals and disposed of solutions.

Relative to the synchronous achievement of Henry Ward Beecher in Brooklyn, Phillips Brooks was equally successful in attracting the fabulously wealthy Yankee-Puritan capitalists. These Boston industrialists and parishioner philanthropists eagerly contributed the generous funds that enabled the rector of Trinity Church to dream about constructing an ecclesiastical architectural gem, to design a one thousand seat capacity church, and to erect a state-of-the-art new edifice. Not unlike the Boston experience of Theodore Parker over twenty-five years earlier, twice the number of worshippers that the cathedral could seat

weekly formed the madding crowd aspiring to hear Brooks preach in Holy Trinity Church: wherein pews on the main floor of the sanctuary were owned or rented by capital and management along with other upper-class ecclesiastical proprietors, whereas the four hundred seats in the galleries were free and occupied by lower-class worshippers and middle-class parishioners of lesser means and social status according to establishment nineteenth-century Protestant custom.

Like the previous Yankee-Puritans whose distinguished public servant careers preceded his highly praised private and parochial service--John Quincy Adams, William Ellery Channing, and Daniel Webster--Harvard alumnus Brooks was elected (in 1881) an overseer of Harvard College. He added his alma mater to his lecture and preaching circuit, but declined with regrets his appointment as preacher to Harvard and professor of social ethics (in 1881) declaring the honor was neither an expedient nor convenient addition to his demanding schedule of responsibilities beyond his Trinity Church primary duties. Highly esteemed throughout the Protestant Episcopal Church, and especially by his peers in the Bay State Diocese, he was elected (in 1886) the assistant Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania, and consecrated Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts in 1891.

Inarguably first among equals forming the class of impressive Protestant parsons and priests in the nineteenth century, Brooks earned an international reputation as a model spokesman for what American Civil Religion churchmen and the establishment Church valued. His esteem was not limited to Anglican affairs but enhanced by his famous *Lectures on Preaching* (1877)--delivered as the annual Lyman Beecher Lectures at Yale--and his Bohlen lectures in Philadelphia which were published as *The Influence of Jesus* (1879). In these writing projects, Brooks transformed Evangelicalism into a brilliant logical revision of Protestant rationalism that entailed the deflation of authentic Puritan Piety and the inflation of Halfway Piety.

His masterful misdirection of Puritan Piety public interest-ethics by superimposing parochial Halfway Piety deterrence-benevolence was widely appraised as a scholarly *tour de force*. In reality, the achievement was crystal clear sign and symbol of the end of public ethicists directing public ethics to reverse the flow of anti-Black race values, the beginning of an insulated and isolated Protestant focus on the private and parochial individual engaged in automatic elevation to economic and mystical heights, and the expansion of rationalizing success as the outcome of merited amazing grace.

But in this magnificent obsession, that by means of missing the beautiful truth wrought the beauty of experience-devoid theory in an intellectual essay that transcended the Evangelical norm, Brooks also followed the rational standard set down by Jonathan Edwards, the premier Millennium-intensive philosophical theologian. Forthwith Brooks became the chief representative of American Civil Religion and individualism, the critical coordinates of establishment Protestant Churches, whose productive and seductive powers he matched and enhanced.

An Evangelical logician who appeared to love mystery less than rational and romantic mysticism but more than secular humanism, and combined empirical psychology and experimental philosophy in the development of an optimistic theology of linear moral progress, Brooks demonstrated spiritual artistry as he enveloped Halfway Piety in a worldview that approached the intensive individual, sacred and profane vision, and secular and religious Intuitionism Waldo Em-

erson pioneered in his pacesetting Boston Transcendentalism.

In this neolithic and necrophilia traditionalism-correcting neologic school of religion, primarily for the growth and expansion of the mutually fertile individual and the parochial power of positive thinking--with peripheral focus at best on community effect and public interest consequences--Brooks energized the elitist Halfway Piety rhythm of personal-individual and private-sector deliverance, that essentially amounted to the surrogate and presumed superior social redeeming motive, means, and opportunity. Through this rationalization process, of public enrichment proceeding automatically from the successful autonomous personal entity as a private force, Northeastern establishment Protestants jettisoned the freedom and responsibility demanding coordinates of the individual in community principle of ethical excellence. Perforce this abandonment of demonstrable public race and religion leadership, Social Gospel and theological liberals like Brooks convinced themselves it was both righteous and their duty to leave vulnerable Black folk to fend for themselves against arbitrary White race/ethnic powers, who were currently driving pro-Black race true interests beneath demanding pro-White race real interests and values.

The Protestant power elite admirers and followers of the gospel according to Brooks were legion. They were given to understand by the legend in his own time, for whom the profit motive and gospel of sufficient wealth and efficient benevolence rather than statuesque prophet status became him most, that progressive community standards and national values sprang especially from the individual achievement of men embracing hyperexclusion in monism-braced private societies. Thuswise, rather than inducted in egalitarianism and pluralism, Black folk were instructed by Evangelical Protestant powers in a highly rationalized and structured Halfway Piety device: whose systemic and systematic vice of inevitable deterrence-benevolence was the real value and virtue of necessity.

Brooks did not bother to untie the Gordian knot of Evangelicalism and Millennialism which bound the Puritan-faithful Yankee individual. He simply cut it, and thereby released the individual New England churchman with Puritan community-derived power to reinforce the drive of the advantaged Yankee with sufficient potency to match his great ambition--and opportunity to produce wealth and amass profits--with philanthropic contributions in the new era of entrepreneurial industrial capitalism. Neither an opportunist nor seduced by the alluring materialization produced by men of mastery and destiny, Brooks was perceptive of the unparalleled benevolent possibilities emerging in postbellum America.

Munificence proliferated from the past period when the old Calvinist-Puritan spirit of exploratory and exploitative venture drove mercantilists with unmatched technically proficient marketing skills, that they refined into a high art of not only buying and manufacturing raw materials but profitably selling valued goods and services, into the industrial age of risk capital and new opportunity in virgin territory. He understood mercantilism and capitalism were imaginatively combined in monopolies by Yankee masters of enterprise but not of mystery (also as were the Puritan fathers of these sons of the wayward worldly saints whose embrace of interest was no less firm but who gripped the magical and mystical elements more rigidly). Brooks' contemporaries were industrialists whose competitive and productive capacities enabled them to earn enormous profits, and bid fair to rival their fabulously wealthy English cousins as they suddenly appeared in the late Victorian Age with startling affluence.

This unprecedented American period of self-made billionaires followed upon

the heels of the antebellum decades, when these Protestant fathers and sons and their establishment churches affirmed the slavocracy, equated slavery with justice because it was enacted into positive law by the order of legitimate civil authorities, and declared human bondage neither either evil or sin nor legalized injustice but a classic instance of the correctness of correction and corrective justice apropos the punishment of crime rather than the crime of punishment.

The dogma of double damnation in history and eternity for the Black race seemed fair double jeopardy, since it was distinguished from double indemnity for the Puritan race of saints, until the secular sons of the saints and sinners defended the less fortunate White folk "Elect" and "Reprobate" and declared nothing was more unjust than the doctrine of double election (to life eternal in either heaven or hell).

Whence the century-long continuously revised unfairness doctrine was transposed into an elegant and subtle popular theology and psychology by sophisticated specialists in the philosophy of religion discipline, like Brooks and Lyman Abbott. Their new-found "rugged individualism" appeared a no less real absolute benefit and relative liability for the respectively inherited, achieved, and/or ascribed advantaged and disadvantaged, for being a religious class-specific conflict of real interests and values whose different intentions and purposes but nearly indistinguishable public consequences were hidden in the complex arrangement of identical ultimate objectives. Sacred and profane "rugged individualism" merged with the elective affinity of the White ethnic individual constituent element of the American church and state, from whose ecclesiastical and civil mutually fertile fusion evolved the secular and religious Protestant cause and effect relation between poverty and sin.

They proceeding from the premise of the natural law and natural right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. For the power elite these were presumed universals of the human condition, and the basis of their principal equation of liberty and opportunity that translated freedom of choice. But sin (equal access of each human being to God or BEING RIGHT and GOOD but electing either unenlightened self-serving interest or enlightened self-interest normally first and foremost) was complementary given for traditional Christians, hence Protestant leaders of progressive standpattism finely nuanced and frequently associated poverty amidst opulence with sin. As the great personal iniquity and private failure of the individual--rather than also of the community or its political arrangement of the economic system--poverty like sin was a perversion of choice, whose correct conversion each American was both responsible for and able to effect by the combination of the power of choice and resolute determination to make the right choice (and change from a failure into a success).

Spiritual success (or salvation and regeneration secured by the individual being born again) was routinely asserted to be an achievement obtained by using the same motive, means, and opportunity mechanisms employed by enterprising entrepreneurs to amass material profit--that is, a simple matter of personal will exercised in an effectively autonomous act independent of external constraints.

Albeit churchmen argued with (instead of) the facts and centered their case on arguing the arguments of their case, their perchance less obvious than consequential compelling force was no less real for being unmerited power: If the rich or poor individual inhabitant grasps the equally secular and religious relevant message and internalized the instruction of the Protestant Evangelical medium of American Civil Religion--following either the pro-immediatism or pro-

gradualism rival methods to arrive at the common goal of repentance and regeneration-- he can rest assured of guaranteed conversion as one of the redeemed. Indeed, self-deliverance to the Savior was (unlike self-determination) the only Protestant medium of exchange from sin and poverty to salvation and grace; the one means both to individual redemption and social redeeming values; and the automatic instrumental effect of these social redeemers.

Given his mastery of neither black magic nor white mystery but of the mystical sacred and profane union of ecclesiastical and civil opposites, Brooks propounded the standard revised version of American Civil Religion (pragmatic dogmatism and dogmatic pragmatism). By means of this essay he turned inside out and upside down for his power elite followers the traditional Protestant Evangelical Millennial theology and ideology: whether as the ultimate revolution or final social formation at the end of history and beginning of eternity, the Kingdom of Christ will surface on planet earth after the Millennium, and just as certainly the Kingdom of God exists within the redeemed individual. Thus in the positive thinking man's gospel according to Brooks, the Kingdom of God is neither a past nor a future so much as a current event: a present-pervasive hope instantly realizable by the individual persistently and consistently in, through, and over time within history albeit with greater intensity, density, and extensity in eternity.

This Brooksesque version of realized eschatology Jonathan Edwards, the Evangelical Millennium philosopher and Halfway Piety theologian *par excellence*, never recommended to the serious professors. While neither the first nor the last exponent of this modern perversion of authentic antiblack white-ethnic virtue--in both its Puritan Piety and Halfway Piety versions of tradition--at least for Episcopalians sliding down as the sophisticated professional was scaling skillfully the slippery slope rising steeply between High Church and Low Church Anglicans, Brooks transmogrified Millennialism (not unlike Jonathan Edwards who transformed Orthodoxy from a social reform instrument into a means of ultimate revolution) from an extraterrestrial force into a portable worldview for the layman to follow in the civil order. Specifically the Brookesque doctrine asserted authentic individual existence precedes eternal human essence.

At the turning point from Reconstruction to post-Reconstruction commenced his deliberate shift gradually from the left through the middle to the right of center power position, and returned to the posture preferred by antebellum establishmentarians. Yankee Episcopalian Brooks was not as far from his Calvinist Puritan roots as his Anglican persuasion suggested. At the dawn of the age of American Enlightenment rationalism and romanticism--precipitating in New England the optimistic beliefs in the moral perfectability of man and human improvement through linear social progress--Channing (in Boston and of Harvard also) ushered in and cultivated the Eastern establishment idea of the cultured moral individual being the model master of his religious destiny, captain of his secular fate, and mirror image of the ideal Yankee-Puritan Protestant.

Crystallization of the Brookesque change and constancy cycle solidified during the postbellum period of dishevelment and the winter of discontent for color caste class, when the disquieting and unsettling post-Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan spirit challenged the survival of the competitive *Soul of Black Folk* demanding freedom from insecurity and unsecurity in inevitable progress. In this moment of truth, when the color caste class exhibited initiative but could not win the prize Brooks promised would be conferred automatically upon the swift and strong because they were excluded from the competition, Brooks departed

sharply from the mainstream Halfway Piety emphasis of Denominational traditionalists. The clerical class at the helm of the nineteenth-century Evangelical World of Alliance of Protestant Denominations could not care less about the chances of the color caste or more about the marching under the standard banner as the Church Militant advancing as the Church Triumphant in history and for the redemption of the world. These crusaders for Christianity and civility concentrated the mind as they cancelled the life-enhancing and bolstered the death-enhancing chances of their cousin color caste citizens in the Christian church and civil communities, while they focused on inducing and being the reception committee of the Millennium.

Brooks preached an alternative theological liberal and social conservative doctrine: The future is now! He primarily related this mainstream elitist idea to the individual; essentially apart from the society community, and family; and almost as though he thought a child could develop into a human being without being nurtured by these human race and ethnic group spawned entities comprising the constituent elements of the human species. Irrespective of the disproportionate constraints structured by the political economy, and the critical impositions of the private and parochial sectors, Brooks argued that the individual in North America possesses freedom of choice, therewith the responsibility to think and act positively, and the duty to live in and with the positive power generated by these affirmative attitudinal and behavioral energies.

Correlatively, Brooks averred, by the efficacy of intentional knowing, being, and doing the relative right and good the individual can live presently and concurrently in, with, for, and by the Kingdom of Christ. Although not primarily because of the message and method of this medium, and doubtless before but most certainly after Brooks, the voice of increasingly upper middle-class dominated Protestant Denominations ceased to be directed by advocates of militant and triumphant Millennialism.

This social class and status change distinguished the power elite minority from the majority (composed of the combined intensive ethnic minorities), and most decisively from the masses in the lower-class and working-class churches controlled by White ethnic labor rather than capital and management groups. The declining significance of upper and middle middle-class Millennialism, and the inclining importance of lower middle-class and lower-class Fundamentalism, corresponded with the growing number of poor Black-race and White-ethnic groups, on the one side, and, on the other side, the numerically quantitative leap in size of the varieties and variables of voluntary charities funded by capitalists converted Protestant philanthropists.

These benevolent agencies and agents were funding eleemosynary institutions in nearly every city with an impressive display of charity, and effectually refashioned the relation between material and spiritual establishments. In the public relations of these Protestant parochial (parson) and private (parishioner) compeers, they proceeded from the shared value in the regeneration of the world--through a gradual rational rather than an immediate radical transformation process--an effect resulting from the individual saving the community. The great man world transforming principle clearly revised the traditional Evangelical Protestant priority of the saving community redeeming the individual, and the individual-in-community forming a tandem formation to redeem history and the world.

This reversal of authentic Protestant establishment values and priorities, from the historic Puritan Piety arrangement that set private family and paro-

chial community order above other priorities to the secular humanist pattern of raising the individual so far above the other entities until the individual ranged beyond constructive relations with the family and the community, was essentially complete in this effective Brookesque Halfway Piety countermovement.

Distinguishing himself from the great Puritan public service-oriented Boston parsons--who used their office to direct the common good--Brooks stressed the minimization of ignorance and harm or negative good as the surrogate for the maximization of positive good or the enrichment of the whole. The Puritan Anglican was unlike Calvinist Puritan Mather, and Unitarian Puritan Parker (each of Boston and Harvard also).

These forerunners were roadrunners who endeavored to revitalize the entire Massachusetts Commonwealth, rejected for projecting upon society their personal standard of virtue (private ethics furthering the public interest determines the worth of personal values), denigrated for their failure to form the consensus of conventional wisdom behind their leadership and to achieve their objectives: the Matherean call upon Calvinist Puritans to join with Quaker Puritans and recover their lost political hegemony in Boston; and the Parkeresque demand for creative action in line with the predicted Yankee political future in perpetuating the antislavocracy- proslavocracy compromise of principle.

Brooks was much nearer to the Connecticut Puritan and son of Yale Jonathan Edwards, whose social conservatism was also informed by his mystical individualism--which his admirers promoted as explicit parochial benevolence, and rehearsed as an implicit private ethical advance observant professors could actualize in the public arena.

Compared and contrasted with these representative Puritans, "Phillips Brooks sought to avoid controversy"--and actually succeeded in Boston in accomplishing what Channing struggled unsuccessfully to achieve in the growing antiabolitionist-proabolitionist national crisis. Relative to the urgency of antebellum slavery, and the post-Reconstruction nadir of the Black race, at the top of his form in Boston the mature Brooks differed strikingly from Parker. Brooks succeeded Parker as the pulpit authority with sufficient power to set the ecclesiastical pace, howbeit he lacked enough force to dictate the public ethical forages of the churches. For his own good reasons, and the dramatic purpose of proclaiming the new era of the individual, the Phillips Brooks who committed himself in Philadelphia to secure radical and rapid structural social change was a presence conspicuous by his absence in Boston.[212]

As a consequence of his shift with the mainstream of the culture from the middle to the right of the public ethics center, and corresponding move from community-directed to individual-specific moral standards, Brooks chose to avoid any serious evaluation of human beings as either a race or an ethnic group within the body politic (to say little of their function in separate and distinct classes). One reason for this conscious management of reality revolved around the singular truth that the Evangelical religious and secular democratic principles formally acknowledged the White ethnic individual as their constituent element, who were normally power elite and power proletarian White ethnic males determiners of the destiny of the powerless Black males and females. Another and perhaps the essential reason for his managed reality pattern was his belief that engaging people seriously in their typical existence, as boundless varieties of complex and conflicting collectivities, would complicate his interest in viewing people purely and simply as single individuals. Given these primary individual and secondary community less than identical twin ends and means

(generalizable secular humanist values and universalizable religious virtues), Brooks rationalized his will to continue one establishment Puritan-Yankee tradition--specifically, the propensity of English race and British ethnic progenitors to rationalize the true and real interests of their Black race kin-group as little matters of the greatest unimportance.

The Puritan-Anglican deethnicized and deculturalized African multi-ethnics were understood by discerning contemporaries to share with all other Americans an existence whose basic essence is not determined by class, and to differ from these ethnics by being the only race-exclusive group in North America. Relative to the White ethnic individual--forming the constituent element of the secular political economy and the Evangelical religious American tradition--the inference follows from their implications that ethnicity-preempted Black-race folk are arguably not individuals (even though Brooks would force the theory into his experience and declare the conclusion drawn from analysis of New Abolitionist and Radical Republican culture critics demonstrable nonsense) but exceptions at best, who are everywhere and always at once defined and confined by race.

In this concrete and dynamic form of deculturalized and deethnicized existence--uniting theory and experience in the reality Brooks at most considered a question of perception--Black race-specific people alone live, move, and find their being, rather than in Brooks' theoretical vision of the individual as the only solid entity. While this permanent condition is equally irreversible and ineradicable, it is not rigid but firm and sufficiently flexible for Black exceptions to appear in the image of an individual (since they attain all but the essential freedom of choice critical determinant). Whence Black folk enjoy the hardly unmixed curse or blessing of vicarious participation in the successes of the noteworthy Black achievers.

In the perspective of the radical New Abolitionists and Republican Reconstructionists, the rationalization loses force which asserts that Brooks and the Protestant establishmentarians he represented so ably were deficient of the power of choice to select a serious rather than utilitarian approach to their Black clergymen brethren. It was within the range of Brooks' depth perception to understand comprehensively that, at the metaphysical level, being a member of the Black race and an individual in ethnic-intensive America follows in logic but not in life. Denial of this truth in rational thought and action scarcely results in a leap in faith. Quite the contrary, it is a leap out of Black race essence which precedes existence and into unreality.

Summarily--as his biographer put it succinctly--what Brooks believed to be true for White race/ ethnic folk could not be true for the Black race:

> Society does not exist for itself, but for the individual.

Unquestionably, Brooks could argue successfully the case and make his point that both the Black and White human being "goest into society not to lose, but to find himself."[213] However, what Brooks either misconstrued and misjudged or misemployed and misinterpreted but altogether rejected as irrelevant was the social interposition of pro-White race and anti-Black race interests, and the critical imposition of this Americanization of real values upon his inner-directed individual as the universal standard of ethical excellence.

Contrariwise, central to the original Old and New England transplanted values of the early Puritan-Anglican settlers was their integrated secular and religious, subjective and objective pursuit of their ultimate parochial goal. It en-

tailed achieving coinstantaneously sacred and profane private and public happiness--spiritualization (genuine Puritan Piety) and materialization (Calvinist theocracy empowering the political economy); actualization of these fundamentals via the individual-in-community securing realization through the minimization of divorce from freedom and responsibility by the twin indispensable individual and community essences of human existence, and the maximization of personal liberty through the instrumental philosophy of exceptionalism underpinning Federal Theology; and the development of the parts in one whole supportive extended family-centered (so-called Puritan tribalism as distinguished from the nuclear family, concurrently both emerging after and diverging from the death of theocracy and converging with the birth of democracy) church and state society, whose solid law and order arrangement was energized by the flexible rational organizing principle of respect for the exercise of individual freedom of choice within the limited tolerance rules of governance.

Brooks evinced solid learning concerning the colonial formation of civil order and cultural realities established by the English settlers, when Evangelical Puritan-Anglicanism leadership--in the complex nature and purpose of less rigidly structured and more real than apparent flexible Calvinism--dictated not only the standards of morals and manners, taste and style, and the means and ends of personal and social development. Slowly but surely, these firm fashions demanded by religious humanitarians demanded secular humanists cut their consciences to fit or opposed as equally outrageous and intolerable.

The class of class-conscious Orthodoxy, who, as advocates of community-diminished and individual-intensive real alternative freedom and responsibility choices, countered as the colonial decades progressed toward the national era with increasingly compelling societal conditions of positive law, whose enforcement as rational order they demanded.

The preponderantly English parties to the conflict of real interests and values were engaged in intertribal warfare, whose internal dispute was predominantly one between sacred and profane priorities of secular and religious but broad-gauged Puritan-Anglican exponents of cultural varieties--and the more narrow-scoped Calvinistical-Latitudinarian proponents of a more limited range of variables.

These competitive Puritan secularization versus religionization of the civil order issues were cultural complexities compounded by the purely parochial and sectarian problems of faith and ethics, wherein their more internal than external theological and ecclesiastical controversies the infernal question of eternal salvation or damnation raged.

The sincere intentions and serious purpose of Calvinist Puritan debates were instituted to guarantee the security and extension in the community of their moral persuasion.

But the insider-as-outsider and outsider-as-insider status of the Calvinist contestants, disputing opponents' credentials as protectionists of the authentic tradition, produced a sharp distinction between the select Puritan "Elect" and the perceived Puritan "Reprobate" for whom Calvinist Puritan Orthodoxy (like the Anglican theocracy in the Southeastern Colonies) was hardly a live option. These dissidents precipitated an unintended public consequence: Religious humanitarians were challenging secular humanists with their no less obscene and pernicious for being logical rational theory of double election (to eternal salvation or damnation), whose dogmatic theology guaranteed the sharp rise of doctrinaire ideology and the countercharge that puritan morality was effectively

puritanical moralism and puritanical hypocrisy.

Brooks escaped being eclipsed by these errors of conception, perception, and deception--but not from the Yankee inherited side-effects. The sacred and profane Puritans' conflict over the appropriate church and state correspondence rapidly accelerated as the seventeenth-century advanced, and crystallized prior to the late seventeenth-century emergence of two equally mutually fertile and hostile, agile and aggressive forces-- demonstrating unequaled capacities to dictate the alternating rhythm of dynamic American culture: The 1740s First Great Awakening (or Evangelical Millennialism employing the strategy of revivalism and tactics of evangelism to secure the religious conversion of the masses), and the empirical rationalism generated by the secular-dominant Euro-American Enlightenment.

These competing legitimate claims to the American soul and mind reached a compromise in the civil arrangement of the public order and body politic: effectively each embraced the primacy of the individual as their constituent element. Secular and religious, Puritan and Anglican, and predominantly English race and British ethnic cousins discovered the instrumental means and value of functioning as dogmatic pragmatists and pragmatic dogmatists. The realization was fullest in the shared value of the near sacrosanct and inviolable individual (if not the comparatively diminished capacity of the community also), who simultaneously underpinned capitalism, democracy, and Protestantism.

In effect, this sacred and profane compromise of the principle of the community, and substitute of the individual as the single standard of national virtue and value, was both by definition and in essence the manifestation of the soul or "spirit" energizing the Americanization of culture. This cultural uniqueness not only produced the political, economic, and religious touchstone of the individual, but it also generated the pro-White race/ethnic real interests and values as anti-Black race interests and values demanded by progenitors of their deethnicized and deculturalized Black race-specific kinsfolk.

Brooks could not admit that Black folk preempted of ethnicity were deficient of both independent cultural viability and the power of choice inherent in being an American original (individual). Neither could he permit the argument that, where Black Americans are seriously appreciated as visible and divisible members of the indivisible Black race, the American society he proclaimed proudly "does not exist" for the individual either can or cannot persist permanently apart from the existence of the "black individual."

It was within the range of neither his premises and logic nor principles and priorities--but not beyond his rational powers--for Brooks to connect theory and experience to one reality: In the reaches of the Americanization process, Black race-specific folk, unlike European and other ethnic groups in this ethnic-intensive culture, cannot even as a Black exceptions lose so much as find out for "himself" that he is not an individual who happens to be Black.

Private belief and public faith, and parochial appearances and personal perceptions to the contrary notwithstanding--Black race essence precedes existence for each Black America, who, in reality, aa a member of the Black race is *a prior* preempted from becoming the precious individual so highly cherished by Phillips Brooks.

6

BENIGN AND MALIGN NEGLECT BENEFACTORS OF BLACKS AND BRUTAL BENEVOLENT BRUTES

CLERICAL CONNECTION IN ONE CENTURY OF CHARITY AND CONGREGATIONALISM

Henry Ward Beecher and Lyman Abbott appeared an odd couple of competitor and compeer Yankee cousins of Phillips Brooks, but as Evangelical liberal Congregationalist and Episcopalian sons of the wayward worldly saints and sinners they seemed not so strange bedfellows. Their identical twin Halfway Piety faith in reason and deterrence-benevolence ethics constituted their conformance with the continuum in the historic standard deviation from the norm of the great tradition.

The powerful potential of the public service principle bequeathed by the principal public servant Puritans was a presence conspicuous by its absence more often than not, and one whose persistently developing dynamic possibilities were consistently curtailed by the underdeveloped and undeveloped static condition progressive transformationist regularly reinstituted on the grounds that checking of expansionist ethics is the best means to preserve the balance of power.

Beecher, Abbott, and Phillips revered their great grandfathers and "Old England" founders in New England of the Anglo Saxon race, religion, and right and might perforce irresistible reason and revelation in reality; proved the alternately appreciating and depreciating force of the historic Puritan public interest-ethic proceeded apace their selective engagement and disengagement of conscious conscience rather than consensus following Anglo-American fathers and brothers, whose risk-intensive eternal vigilance struggling to expand the middle that cost-conscious conservatives constricted by broadening the narrow criterion of Christianity and civility; and approached the heightened consciousness and standards raising men of moral means and ends in civil crisis and conflict, as naturally as in the pre-War and post-War state of peace they turned to exalt expedience, to control cultural change by constructing constancy constraints, and to deprecate enlightened engagement ethicists because they insisted upon rapid growth and development of ethical excellence.

Halfway Piety rationalists evolved as revisionists who alternately reversed and reverted to the original Puritan Piety, argued their dynamic rather than static strict constructionist interpretive adjudication resulted in the one authorized revised standard version and their being the only creditable custodians of this rational organizing principle and purpose, and self-defined themselves a conservative "Consistent Calvinist" collective conscious.

These traditionalists developed their self-determined distinctive factor cyclically forward from seventeenth- through nineteenth-century church and civil culture, and distinguished themselves as war time revolutionist and peace time reformer "Consistent Calvinists." They most certainly declared themselves engaged in neither obstruction strategies nor destructive tactics, challenged social structures-correcting Christians to follow their centrolineal cultural leadership

patterns, and denied being Halfway Piety moralists and affirmed they were nothing but Puritan Piety ethicists of the ecclesiastical and civil powers whose American Civil Religion hegemony validated their claim to being the true developers of the best in the tradition.

But their conscious intentions and consequences verified their success in improving the faith was matched by their failure to advance the ethics of the Puritan fathers, that difference they made as Yankee sons turned out to be due to their different middle axioms and ultimate objectives.

The first Calvinist Puritan masters were masterful managers of moral methods and missions, messengers of moral mediums and messages, and ministers of an equally mystifying and menacing ministry of mysterious mysticism and mystery that at once evolved an authentic and revolved around a rational and ethical Puritan Piety.

Perforce this public interest- directed existence in essence and manifestation, and logical secular and religious knowledge-intensive sacred and profane powerful culture, the original real and presumptive saints ironically proved paradoxical paradigms by being wayward worldly saints and sinners. This dualism was denied but inherent in their odd and even peculiar Puritan *Errand into the Wilderness of New England.*

Cotton Mather, the third generation Puritan public servant par excellence, specifically defined this English Calvinist "chosen people" call and response the Congregationalist vocation: To be the "Elect of God" direct actionists continuously engaged in the world of power and possibility, fully prepared, preparing to welcome the Millennium in time and history, and precipitating by participating in this one thousand year reign that Providence designed to clear the space for the Second Coming of Christ to surface and establish the Kingdom of God in North America.

Understood and accepted as additive positive good (securing the real and interests of each individual and nation), and more than mere negative good (undue harm-limiting and suffering-relieving), this moral mission and message of God's "chosen people" was an extraordinary total salvation of human beings in history and eternity ultimate objective. The end justified the means, of these pure white Puritans who were organized to beat the black Devil, whose essential functional measure and utilitarian method was their Calvinist Puritan Federal Theology-derived rational organizing principle of antiblack white-ethnic virtue: a form follows function device Puritans developed to secure virtue overbalancing vice values, insisted was an efficient and sufficient instrumental mechanism, and defined by implementing this Devil-driving (evil and error or objective sin and subjective cause and effect of immorality and crime) and God-attracting (*GOOD and RIGHT or BENEVOLENCE*) so that Divine Providence would not be shut of His/Her creatures and their created culture.

In a classic instance of systematic theory and systemic experience forging perception and reality, Calvinist Puritan facts and figures were neither fiction nor fantasies but solid images and obstructions of justice that appeared to counterbalance their divinely ordained nature and function. Puritan fathers and Yankee sons were a self-revelation of why *agape*-love/power/justice-virtue is a necessity in the process of claiming necessity is a virtue, being in principle and practice a better promise than performance, and forming formal barriers to constructive cultural change characters rather than forging forceful factors to facilitate the correction of formidable obstacles created by physical nature, civil organizations, religious institutions.

Puritans preferred survival to what appeared the real alternative, to bury their enemies to burying their differences, and to deny that the Puritan meanness to their Black race progenies they bequeathed to their Yankee sons survived their pleading neither personal ignorance nor innocence but guilty to the charge of goring the New England Native Americans and witches. What remains beyond dispute is the success of the New England Confederacy whose history Yankees neither repeated nor forgot but re-embodied as certainly as the Puritan lesson was lost on Confederates who failed to remember the force: Puritans expended their considerable powers to lay waste competing legitimate claims, to defend the theocracy, and to extend Puritan tribal territorial interests, values, and security.

FROM AN EXCLUSIVE PURITAN CHURCH TO SELECTIVE YANKEE DENOMINATION

Antebellum Yankee Congregationalists communicated their heightened consciousness of the class over caste clash, as the parochial parsons calculated their private finding in public, and published their critical analysis from which they drew the conclusion that neither aggression nor acceptance but avoidance was the best resolution of conflict in the citizenry caught between the compromise of *Conscience and Constitution* principles. Pursuant to achieving this final solution through implementing their Black-race exclusion time tables and goals, and doubting their answer to the issue revealed they were a penultimate perennial part of the permanent problem rather than of the ultimate solution, these Protestant powerhouses evidenced their vested interest in chaos and color caste/bondage class constraints.

During the cultural crisis Christian capitalists turned Protestant philanthropists, purchased Liberia to ship free of charge from America the whole Black race to this colony in Africa, and crystallized in this American Civil Religion act of creation the conversion of Christian charity into brutal benevolence that the rationalists baptized reasonable and therefore right and justifiable deterrence-benevolence. Calvinist (Trinitarian rather than Unitarian) Congregationalists and Presbyterians led the class of Christians in cancelling the citizenship chances of their color caste/bondage church and civil cultural kin in America. They managed to be good men, to avoid the greater of two goods and the lesser of two evils, and to be engaged in doing the worse evil possible that the impossible they called good might abound.

These Yankee Congregationalists and uncommon class of clergymen and laymen diverged from the Puritan Piety thesis and converged with the Halfway Piety antithesis, asserted their revised standard version was the new centrist synthesis that averted disaster, posited Puritan power as the evidence of their asserted authority, and claimed their parson and parishioner perversion of Puritan Piety into Halfway Piety was not the terrible Calvinist deterrence-benevolence terror and error critics adjudged but their exclusive truth and coveted legacy of disinterested will to the common good. Declaring this Halfway Piety positive negation of Puritan Piety to be neither the blameworthy nor the praiseworthy parts nor the whole past tradition but its residual pure charity bare essence, Yankee sons of Puritan wayward worldly saints struggled to convince contemporaries of the capacity of this reformed inheritance and new benevolence to force malevolence out of the human equation and condition.

Demanding proprietary rights and parietal rules were the basic instrumental

principles that Congregationalist benevolent paternalists instituted to facilitate this purifying process and program, but the parochial regulations of these ecclesiastical law and order rulers proved a perfect prescription for the suspension (or contraction rather more than expansion) of positive public ethics. These general interest limits revealed rather than reversed the worth for the color caste/bondage class of the Protestant power elite's sectarian special interests, and near-absolutely middle-class morality religious humanitarianism, whose ecclesiastical and civil charity remained a statistically significant difference in degree rather than in kind from the amelioration of secular humanists.

Clearly the inspired initiative and original means-ends and results-effects tests that the aggressive antebellum protectors of Orthodoxy employed to promote their alternately subjective middle-axioms and objective mission of mercy entailed intellectual revisions of their pro-Calvinist and anti-Arminian power principles.

Two intrinsic and extrinsic essentials of up-to-date Orthodoxy were updated with sophisticated empirical rationalism logic and social scientific principles. Postbellum-emerging agents* of American Civil Religion evolved to embrace the latest social science theories and pseudo-scientific hypotheses(as immutable laws of "Mother Nature" and human nature" with the absolute certainty that the Founding Fathers asserted their "truths" of "natural laws" and "natural rights" "to be self-evident"). After the Civil War they switched from moderate liberal to liberal conservative Republicans, and from offense-minded to defense-intensive religious humanitarians.

CONGREGATIONALIST SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SERVICE

Forthwith they declared constructive engagement their deliberate disengagement from the Calvinist union of church and state (ecclesiastical and civil) powers, and positive progression their negative retrogression. Just as they believed it was obvious that their reversal of values did not involve undue reverence for the "separate powers" doctrine, just so straightforwardly they appropriated post-Reconstruction methodologies from the physical and social science fields dominated by secular humanists to secure their ecclesiastical ends through empirical rationalism means; to fashion competent and competitive firm yet far more flexible than rigid instrumental values; and to relegate to the dead past the offensive predestination/predetermination pretensions of once dominant and quasi-functional but currently dysfunctional dogmatic Calvinism.

Social science specialization also permitted post-Reconstruction era religious humanitarians to earn the respect rather than the contempt of the secular humanists, to avoid confrontation and to facilitate cooperation with the profane powerhouses, and to protect Protestant priorities and business of religion through surrendering the civil sphere to the secularists while concentrating as sacred professionals in the ecclesiastical sector. This reversion to antebellum Halfway Piety type and positive correlation commenced with acquiescence to the centrist consensus conventional wisdom constituted and cultural determiners espoused in their majority rule role as rule of the majority rulers: who ruled

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* Primary protectionists of establishment Protestant church privileges and priorities were prototypes of the Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State (1947).

that fairness and equity for the ethnic minorities who comprised the majority required double jeopardy for the Black-race minority.

This confluence of sacred and secular sectarian social scientists posited as truth one *fait accompli* truth claim of singular consequence: The color caste class condition is the intractable permanent past and present and therefore future given, that must be accepted as an irreversible *American Dilemma*, treated as a non-correctable cultural malaise, and merely managed as a tolerable *White Man's Burden*. This pride and prejudice point was made the religion and race relations bottom line and applied especially to Christian color caste cultural cousins, whom power people understood to be deeply in love and trouble with America but insist on surviving through struggle, resisting the threat of the American Colonizationists and Ku Klux Klansmen that these antiterrorist and proterrorist partners in mental and bodily terrorism proclaim a promise of good will seeking to serve the best interests of the Black race, and rejecting Protestant philanthropist sons of father Abraham and Lyman Beecher who continue their pledge to transport the whole Black body and soul to Africa at no personal expense to the native North Americans.

New Englander progressive transformationists, following the Beecheresque (sacred) and Lincolnesque (secular) *spirit* and continuing their church and state united Christianity and civility leadership line of march through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, comprised a collective consciousness. Certainly the Congregationalist clergy collective conscience constituted more subtle than sophisticated individual and institutional racism rationalizations, set and raised the standards White race/ethnic virtue and values, and engaged in a class action suit of their color caste congregants rather than their Ku Klux Klan kinsmen. The clergy class who claimed to be the criterion of charity demonstrated conclusively that the White ethnic individual identical constituent element of Evangelical Protestantism, industrial capitalism, and republican democracy was also the critical catalytic agent of the continuous double election for White folk and double damnation for Black folk.

Halfway Piety was neither a transitory nor tangential but a (Civil War through Reconstruction decade) temporarily suspended random recurring, revitalized, and rational cyclical culture control system conservatives instituted whenever and wherever they were in power and authority. This ten-year submerged pluralism/egalitarianism-disaffirming and monism/hyperexclusivity-affirming Puritan ideology and Calvinist dogma surged, surfaced, and soared when these dynamics of progressive transformationism were re-engaged by the onetime united and sometime divided but currently reuniting Yankee and Cavalier sectarian and nonsectarian churchmen.

Northern establishmentarian churchmen advocated reconnecting the severed Protestant Denominations, as one body of Christ and all-White leadership-replete national complements of competing all-Black Protestant Churches simultaneously, and declared the racial divisions of religious institutions sound sense but were accused by their adversaries of making more sound than sense. Uniting White churchmen was neither their first nor last but one of their highest domestic priorities. In aftermath of the Civil War, whose economic disaster aftereffect invited entrepreneurs to produce an expanding economy, this interregional reconnection all-consuming principle of the principal Protestant philanthropists prompted the privileged to reinstate their reverence for limits. High respect for constraints was one of the contributing causes of their contracting rather than expanding charity, and inability to declare class over caste Christianity and

civility crass charity and abandon the demonstrable nonsense as easily as rationalists were able to convert from idealists to realists while coinstantaneously changing their social liberal positive good public ethics to social conservative negative good moralities.

Antebellum and postbellum revised Orthodoxy's hegemonic clergy appreciated the rise of American Enlightenment rationalism and Romanticism. The possibilities for church and civil cultural control of class and caste conditions inherent in the empirical methodologies and theories of social science churchmen apprehended apace their swift progress during the Victorian Age in appropriating the natural law and natural right civil sector rules as the regulations for ecclesiastical establishment religion and race relations. Hence the Protestant power elite understandably approached or were approached by the professional prostitutes of Protestant principles: whose color-intensive and caste-offensive allurements they did not find repulsive but attractive, and predictably Protestant professionals were seduced by these irresistible enticements which they in turn also rationalized as entirely satisfactory or good (enough for Black folk).

Post-Reconstruction Congregationalist professors were determined to maximize their future prospects and to minimize their problematical past. They materialized in the appearances of apperceptive critical contemporaries as opportunists when these champions of class and caste church constraints cut their cultural losses but not their moorings as they sailed the seas of rational racialism from doctrinaire Puritan cultural ideology, and Calvinist predestinarian theology, to become pragmatic dogmatists and dogmatic pragmatists.

On the one hand, the shifting winds blowing tidal waves of changing racial intentions had more apparent than real effect on the consequences of their public thought and action. On the other hand, their culture class over caste retargeted racial goals and time tables, re-entry into the secular color caste civil condition, and pursuit of (less and less eternal/sacred and more and more profane/mundane) happiness activated the hitherto measurably more latent than manifest callous color caste class unconcernment of churchmen. On yet another hand, unprecedented massive charity for the masses was amassed by establishmentarians to ameliorate the personal plight rather than also to meet the public real interests equal need of the poor pariah people that the parochial and private philanthropists selected and church corporations elected to comfort in their affliction. Between the commencement of the Civil War and the cessation of Reconstruction, the funds for the relief of the race-specific minority generated by the parochial-private-public partnerships were matched and administered by Congregationalist individuals and congregations. These agents and agencies tended to expend enormous energies as heroes and heroines disengaged from heretics and engaged in private and parochial eleemosynary enterprises, surprising struggles to harmonize inauthentic Halfway Piety and authentic Puritan Piety, and the impossible mission correlating genuine antiblack white-ethnic virtue with social redeeming ethical excellence in the ecclesiastical and civil sectors.

Unquestionably this advancement of American Civil Religion was disproportionately underpinned by Yankee-Puritan secular and religious varieties, whose rising expectations exceeded their theory and experience of reality: which they defined as politics-free and moral-only parity, confined to the class of the class over caste cultural determiners securing these constricted fairness and equity constructs in charity compounds, and committed their conscious conscience to realizing primarily through puritanical moralisms delivered in the beauty and holiness of Foreign and Domestic Missions.

Thus with all their love of Ivy and mystery, nineteenth-century Congregationalist Puritans were fast becoming twentieth-century select secular and elect religious Yankees; more and more embarrassed by their Calvinist "chosen people" traditional title; and less and less able or willing to proudly proclaim themselves sacred and profane wayward worldly saints and sinners. In this industrial revolution era, and empirical rationalism period dominated by pseudo-science rationalists who asserted the equivalence of linear progress and social scientific superior and inferior race theories, Congregationalist anti-Calvinist social scientist sons of pro-Calvinist clergy and clerical social scientists demonstrated uncharacteristic but explainable confusion when they marketed their arsenic and lace deterrence-benevolence as a high quality brand of charity. They generated the need and the supplied the demand for this dual-purpose benign and malign neglect of pro-Black race true interests, and promoted need as a market dictated value that was thereby not the absence but the presence of fair priced yet profitable pure benevolence (advancing the best known possible right and good interest of the Black neighbor-enemy).

Yankee secular and sacred scholars were equally impressive logical empiricism specialists, and permissive rational exceptionalism generalists, improved upon the pioneering performance of their Puritan fathers: whom the ecclesiastical and civil law-based Calvinism upspringing church and civil lawyer sons, who naturally loved to follow precedent, modeled because they established the standard of refusing to ferret out the pervasive anti-Black race desire. They were anything but a failure to communicate as the professors proved to the public that anti-Black values proliferated, constituted a communicable social disease, and affected the social conscience of the citizenry unerringly and thus the nervous system of the body politic inevitably. Prescriptive secular and sacred sages as social engineers of class dictates recommended avoidance of the caste condition--as neither a therapeutic diagnosis nor a curative treatment but a prescription for stabilization rather than prevention of the cultural malaise.

These competitive and complementary sacred and profane social scientists switched styles but not substance, rejected the Calvinist Millennialists who called the chose to precipitate the early arrival of what Jonathan Edwards termed the "Ultimate Revolution," and predicted the future and that full compliance with their procedure would advance the hoped for vanishment of the Black race not only from the Continent but also from history. Of course these cost/benefit cold calculating cultural determiners were realists, and challenged by idealists who argued the same process of studied ignorance of legitimate color caste class claims would abolish anti-Black race custom, church, and civil codes as the positive law and order of the land either instantly or gradually but definitely within the foreseeable future.

In the antebellum and postbellum decades, Yankee-Congregationalist challengers of pessimists (realists) emerged progressive optimists (idealists) who were absolutely certain, as in all other serious matters of rational thought and action, that the anti-Black race *spirit* which their New Abolitionist adversaries termed the *soul* of American culture was so far from being either a great historic certainty or current reality it was close to being not only the figment of overactive imaginations but a cruel and ugly *Phantom of the Opera* societal scare specter and tactic conjured up by haters rather than lovers of the beautiful Black body of Christ. The rational romantic racialists underestimated the mobocrat proletarians as they dismissed the devil demon that power elite evil geniuses rationalized, and appeared satisfied to control by ignoring the appari-

tion which seemed to them closer to the shadow rather than the substance of social power. Since racism persisted as existence only in the appearances, and wholly outside of real time and space, the penetrating point of the raw and red in tooth and claw anti-Black race vice other participant observers experienced and reported conscious centrists treated as the fabled nonreality they could well afford to tolerate and allow to fester.

While the antebellum Congregationalist descendants of the original English Anglican-Puritan settlers were the continuum rather than the cause of the color caste cultural phenomenon they termed pure pornography, these powerhouses clearly had the capacity to check color class-harming consequences and constrict the irredeemable puissance whether or not they were capable of cancelling and preventing the outcaste cause and effect.

By the time that the sixteenth-century growth of the anti-Black race virtue malignancy in the English body politic had developed into a seventeenth-century cancer--whose infectious AIDS-analogous cells of moral deformity indiscriminately corrupted each American unequally because relative to the powerless noncitizen members throughout the whole society the debilitating virus disproportionately defiled the power parts of the body politic--and erupted on the surface of the Civil War-fractured body republic in the form of open wounds that alternately healed and ruptured in the Reconstruction half-decade, the Puritan *Errand into the Wilderness* of North America that the New England isolate and insulated Yankee philanthropists belatedly led beyond the boundaries of their region was even then not too late to be a perfectly magnificent mission of mercy.

MISANTHROPIC CONFEDERATES AND MISNAMED CARPETBAGGERS

New Englanders rushed into the South--like angels of mercy or avenging angels and unlike fools and wise men--where less courageous men and women feared to tread. Instantly upon arrival they discovered themselves and were discovered hurrying away from and to the anti-Black race interest phenomenal principles that establishment churchmen currently called subjective unreality.

Synchronously through their generation of useful and necessary as well as narrowly focused and misdirected massive resources, they dramatically lifted the veil obscuring objective reality perforce the concentration and intensification of Black-race positive negati and converging with pragmatism, nonpartisan and nonviolent Congregationalist female and male missionaries accepted aspects of the new realism driving American politics and economics (subsisting of a secular ideology that arguably was no more inherently opportunistic than the sectarians' sacred convenience doctrine whereby the profane and sacred society engineers shared selective values and specifically the principle of expedience).

In this empirical rationalist apolitical and fiscal conservative mode, Missionary Congregationalist parochial educators and ministers marched like archetypal deconstructionists to their rendezvous with destiny in the South, where the constructive engagement crusaders counterbalanced the Radical Republican Reconstruction mission and established their Domestic Missions. Unfortunately they were a day late and dollar short of the correct change ethic, and to the astonishment of the stunned Yankees they were unable to deliver the caste captives from their class captors, to engage in the primary power politics process, and to perform a miracle as promised by the moral message of the moralist messengers.

Thus with all their love of Ivy and mystery, nineteenth-century Congregationalist Puritans were fast becoming twentieth-century select secular and elect religious Yankees; more and more embarrassed by their Calvinist "chosen people" traditional title; and less and less able or willing to proudly proclaim themselves sacred and profane wayward worldly saints and sinners. In this industrial revolution era, and empirical rationalism period dominated by pseudo-science rationalists who asserted the equivalence of linear progress and social scientific superior and inferior race theories, Congregationalist anti-Calvinist social scientist sons of pro-Calvinist clergy and clerical social scientists demonstrated uncharacteristic but explainable confusion when they marketed their arsenic and lace deterrence-benevolence as a high quality brand of charity. They generated the need and the supplied the demand for this dual-purpose benign and malign neglect of pro-Black race true interests, and promoted need as a market dictated value that was thereby not the absence but the presence of fair priced yet profitable pure benevolence (advancing the best known possible right and good interest of the Black neighbor-enemy).

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failed to triumph in war but were determined not to be defeated in peace and prosperity politics.

These able men were unwilling to admit their diminished capacity to attain their ultimate goal of being more than conquerors of the color caste class, unable to settle on excuse, and determined to substitute for their lost cause and chief objective the conquest of Colored females and males. Since the former slavemasters thought their ex-slave Black males had no right to be competent competitors, the onetime human bondage owners settled for beating up, down, and black and blue their kith and kin.

Complementing these victories of the vampires (in white sheets parading as Ku Klux Klansmen), who as recent rivals were embraced as long lost and at last found Southeastern White friends and cousins, were the inherently possessed successes overbalancing failures transported by recently relocated Northeastern brethren who attracted scalawags and caricatured as carpetbaggers. The mystique of these "Consistent Calvinism" and Puritanism oracles accrued less from mystical and mythical aura than from harmonizing minimal mystery and maximal magical rational conventions and inventions.

These were market and people managerial skills of professionals whose nicely nuanced exegesis of middle class morality and eisegesis of Puritanical moralism combined consensus respectability with conventional wisdom. Reverence for convention was a high priority in the highly structured way of knowing and being for Evangelical Yankee-Puritan Congregationalists who were committed to doing right and good, because this middle-of-the-road principle and practice secured risks even for missionaries who worked miracles on the margin of safety since it minimized liability and maximized benefit for the preachers of absolute certainty and ultimate security who believed in the automatic translation of sincere intentions and serious purposes into positive good consequences.

This continuum of Protestant logic entailed pure and simple rational subjective and objective highly complex reasoning, but the underpinning premises traditionalists succeeded in sustaining and failed to submit to serious appraisal and critical analysis. Whether or not the early deconstructionists were aware of their classical alliance with their great enemy, the rational logic principles and sacred faith and ethics theology of Calvinists (from John Calvin through Jonathan Edwards to Lyman Beecher) and Catholics (apropos St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa* and the *De Regimine Principum* were based on unexamined premises that were grounded in Aristotle's secular *Great Chain of Being* social conservative philosophy (of nature-structured and God-ordered nearly inflexible and irreversible hierarchal ranks of superior and inferior human race and ethnic if not class groups).

The faith and ethics of Congregationalists and other Evangelical Protestants were bound in this Western secular philosophy, and interlaced with advanced empirical rationalism. Throughout the generations of their revisions, produced by bewildering varieties of schools of thought and innumerable independent variations and dependent variables, they persistently and consistently reproduced from these secular philosophy and sacred theology methodologies their provocative new versions of the Halfway Piety faith deterrence-benevolence ethics dogma. The more offensive than defensive missionary nature and purpose of the dogma was to convert the human species, to be the ecclesiastical hegemonic power in the universe, and to command the private sector as well as to control the parochial sphere if not to dominate the public realm.

But ecclesiastical aggressive imperialism forced the church to penetrate the

civil order, and to be different from but no less aggressive than the state in Foreign and Domestic affairs, explorations, and exploitations. A reversion from the postbellum church and state united to the antebellum church and state separate preponderance was essentially complete before three fourths of the nineteenth century had elapsed.

Paralleling the situation earlier in the century, after the dissolution of the Federalist Party and before the formation of the Republican Party, the religious intensity and density of proselytizing Protestant evolved into an extensity resented by secular advocates of the sacred and inviolable "rugged individual": whose profane free market and free enterprise exploits as an entrepreneur, or unchecked free marketeer entailed appropriations of lands and people, goods, and profits that more than matched the territorial expansion of Protestant Churches.

RISE OF CONGREGATIONALIST PROSELYTIZERS OF AND PHILANTHROPISTS FOR EX-SLAVES

At the commencement of the nineteenth century, Orthodoxy and Reformed Calvinists united in a Congregationalist and Presbyterian Alliance of two Denominations. Beginning before but accelerating during and after the Civil War, Yankee Congregationalists converted mercantilists turned capitalists and enterprising entrepreneurs into Protestant philanthropists professors, and the Congregationalist Church became (in 1812) the first American Denomination to organize a Foreign Mission society and field missionaries. Congregationalists were followed by their Baptist Calvinist-cousins, whose teachings captivated the original Congregationalist missionaries: the Reverend Adoniram Judson (1788-1850) and the Reverend Luther Rice (1783-1836), two India-bound Congregationalists who during their passage on separate ships (in 1813) independently self-converted to the Baptist faith, initially secured and commissioned by the resourceful Congregationalist American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810).

Except for selective missionary forages into foreign overseas lands and domestic fields instead of being a competitive national proselytization Evangelical Protestant Church, prior to the mid-1840s Congregationalism was essentially content to concentrate and limit the Church of Christ in New England to the boundaries of this Northeastern region. While nearly unique and distinct in thuswise restricting the mission of the ecclesiastical institution among American inhabitants, Congregationalists also sustained their leadership of Protestant humanitarian enterprises through formalized Domestic Missions: organizing the American Education Society and the American Home Missionary Society (1826) a decade later.

Finally by 1846, Congregationalism established congregations in New York City and antislavery Congregationalists at last commenced to undermine and overturn antiabolitionists' complete command and control Orthodoxy. Upspringing Congregationalist immediatism and gradualism advocates turned institutional adversaries distinguished themselves as competing theological and political as well as fiscal and social conservative and liberal traditionalists: and from the centrists who remained active and inactive promoters of the antislavery ACS whose antiabolitionist message and mission inhered in its existence for Black race deculturalization, denationalization, and deportation from America to Africa.

Reactionary turned neither radical nor conservative but liberal antislavery Trinitarian Congregationalists, and unorthodox establishmentarian challengers of

the establishment as antidisestablishmentarian followers of Arthur Tappan as well of disestablishmentarian proabolitionists like William Garrison, appeared unexpectedly to the surprised Garrisonians who reacted as if they found them suspect Tappanites; surprisingly late in the antislavery movement and suddenly properly motivated; and to burst forth belatedly in the mid-antebellum North and West (on the Frontier) but not the South. As Black-race proselytizers and antislavery missionaries, the converted Congregationalist clergy concentrated the mind and strained credulity as they earnestly and honestly argued from silence they were the heirs apparent of not revisionist Halfway Piety but original Puritan Piety; neither presumptive johnny-one-note types nor illicit Johnny-come-lately Yankees; acquiring their legitimate claim.

They most certainly were serious and determined to prove the authenticity and worth of the historic Calvinist-Puritan rational hegemony of the American Civil Religion, church and state, and social and civil order.

These reason and revelation revitalization revisionists were formidable friends and foes; demonstrated competence and courage as credible social conscience specialists in their role as agents of Congregationalism; and arranged the first dedicated antislavocracy forces of this last major Evangelical Denomination to secure a strong proslavocracy positive negation and antislavocrat connection in the antebellum West.

Whether paralleling the high or low probabilities that these pacesetting antislavery churchmen in the establishment Congregationalist Church remained in their preponderancy moderate and not radical New Abolitionists, who persisted as progressive standard deviations from the antislavocracy-proslavocracy neutral norm, their initiatives in the West prepared the Congregationalist Denomination to cooperate with the other American ecclesiastical powers; to earn the reputation of being the first among equals in the front ranks of emerging freedmen proselytizers through establishing the Protestant consensus behind the Yankee-Puritan leadership of charitable relief agencies; and to major in minor moralities and minding manners rather than in major moral and political power measures in the process of converting Black-race and White-ethnic minorities--who existed at relative disadvantage and advantage in the South--and contributing parochial-private-public assistance during the Civil War and Reconstruction decade, to secure a more perfect Union and creative church and civil connection of Christian kinsfolk.[214]

MEANING OF THE MID-BELLUM MORAL METHOD MISSION AND MISSIONER

In short, during the late antebellum years, the leadership momentum in the power circles of the Congregationalist Church decisively swung from conservative to liberal cost-conscious cautious consciences. The new-emerging ecclesiastical and civil politicians commissioned a cost/benefit analysis whose calculations concluded profitable Protestant philanthropy was the fair return parson and parishioner philanthropists owed their profit-making investors. Thus they concluded it was not cost-prohibitive but cost-effective to change from the traditional Congregationalist conservative to a liberal investment policy and proceed in the market as bulls rather than bears to advance dynamic over static preferred risk--relative to the ecclesiastical management's unrealistic policy and decision to recommend investing parochial moral securities with professionals who as expert investors of the resources of private corporations and public bodies specialized in protecting the status quo.

With this secured risk, they moved from their comparative status advantage to secure their determined best interest of the disadvantaged. This minimizing cost and maximizing efficiency principle, process, and program they declared responsible parochial management of the interlocking business of business and business religion, pure and simple self-enlightened interest, and public interest expanding ethical excellence. Antislavery Congregationalist calculated that compound right and good interest generated complex ethical dividends, and the guaranteed loan of values paid off handsomely in highly negotiable social securities.

Evangelical Congregationalist liberals evolved as expert managers of the moral and monetary market, into *bona fide* Protestant humanitarians, and established their antislavery credentials at the helm of the antislavocracy American Missionary Society (A.M.A.): which organization newly committed proabolitionist minority finally managed (in 1846) to form despite the objections of the antiabolitionist majority in the traditionally proslavocrat/antislavocracy Congregationalist Church.[215]

This magnificent antislavery exercise and enterprising A.M.A. formation added tension to the severely strained divisions of the united Congregationalist Church, whose liberal minority and conservative majority argued their respective cases for these acts of creation being constructive and controversial innovations. Despite its being a deadly disorganization deadened by disincentives for adversaries and an incentives inspiring institution for advocates, the A.M.A. set the Yankee-Puritan standard that no Southern and few Northern Churches and churchmen approached. But while their Protestant were superior proselytizers and inferior philanthropists partly they were no monetary match for ministers and missionaries of master merchants, several Northern Denominations solemnly affirmed the Congregationalist criterion of Christianity and civility and competed in the crusade for Christ and the Colored Christians as the New England establishmentarians gradually shifted from progressive proslavocrats into aggressive antislavocrats.

The relevant relation inheres in the fact that the A.M.A., as the alternative to the ASC as the par-church antislavery agency for Congregationalism, was the creation in Orthodoxy of observant rebels against the conservative rational organization; bureaucrat chief executive officers in control of the Denomination's Domestic Mission bureaucracy; and the conscious antiabolitionist and pro-Colonizationist churchmen who as antebellum White Nationalists created the ASC but claimed their creation was not what their critics charged: the Janus-faced mother of White Nationalism and father of Black Nationalism.

The start-up funds that were largely channeled by Arthur Tappan, the Yankee-Calvinist capitalist and observant philanthropist whose influence and affluence made a difference before and after he converted from a pro-Colonizationist to an early anti-Colonizationist, launched the A.M.A. whose Black and White Northern agents arrived in their ameliorative national orbit in the time and space occupied by the Civil War. The Yankee-Puritan A.M.A. male and female body of missionaries (caricatured pale white and black Christian carpetbaggers by capricious Confederate crusaders) to Black and White Southerners moved with deliberate speed to swiftly ship soup and soap along with spiritual security to the poor White-ethnic scalawags and Black-race freedmen. In this stratosphere of body and soul salvation, the ecclesiastical and civil powers' chariots of charity orbited in a rationalized restricted natural and moral law field force they claimed justified their church and civil law-limited ecclesiastical power

circles, outside spheres of orbiting Radical Reconstruction of the South Republicans, and above rapid rational, realistic, and constructive structural social change satellites.

Mid-Reconstruction gored and gilded guilt guardians of God's glory, glorious revolution victory of the Union victors over the Confederate Army of rebels, and Congregationalist Church of Christ, evidently were not dead on arrival in the South but instantly resisted reality and irresistible cardiac arrest: as the manifest bare essence in existence of Calvinist good and asserted equivalence of gold and grace under pressure, produced by powerful preyers on the powerless petitioners and competing Christian Black and White Northerners and Southerners whose heightened consciousness and higher consciences focused on securing civil and church power and prosperity for the color caste class in history rather than eternity.

Relative to these avenging angels, postbellum angels of mercy reverted to their rigid proslavocrat/proslavocracy posture previously maintained during the antebellum decades until they switched style and shifted their substance to a flexible antislavocracy stance. This dramatic change occurred when the Yankee majority finally became convinced by the Puritan minority that their real interests and values were increasingly depreciating rather than appreciating, approaching the margin of disadvantage, and losing advantage to the high risk rollers for the slavocracy--that is, the Southern slavocrats whom Northern proslavocrats embraced as friends, brethren, and relatives.

Commensurate with developing depth perception and deeper appreciation of current reality--through which perspective it became patently clear that their choices were narrowed by vanishing depletion allowances and diminishing returns on Southern investments whose shrinking margins of profit partly resulted from their overextended full faith and credit lines to slavocrats. The A.M.A. was one positive aftereffect of this awakening like Rip Van Winkle from forty years of deep sleep during which they made more sound than sense.

RELIABLE REVISION AND REVERSION

REFORMER'S REHEARSAL FOR REVERSAL

Within a decade and a half after the Congregationalist mavericks constructed A.M.A. they instituted it in the South between the Civil War and Reconstruction. But in that instance they met solid resistance from their formidable former friends and foes, whom the reconciliation and reparation reformers reached out to as relatives to renew race and religion relations, but who stoned the messengers because they did not like their moral message and method.

Immediately the champions of charity cut their new obligations and commitments to suit the Confederates, processed progress which they professed to be their only professional purpose, and established the precedent setting deobligation policy that complemented their old ASC deportation foreign and domestic priority program.

Forthwith they revised and revitalized their progressive transformation principal Protestant principle, exhibited a sufficient supply of efficient grit and gifts to meet the growing spiritual need who demand they generated, and managed (in lieu of curbing the driving power hunger and of the "truly needy" to drive them against the wall of middle-class morality and respectability) guilt without greed by means of circumventing the solidly structured and functionally integrated *agape*-love/power/justice.

Instead of aiding freedmen to add to their liberty civil freedom and responsibility, the missionaries argued these were debilitating rather than facilitating forms and functions which could distract the Black male and cause the Colored clergyman-politician to fail of success (nearly gain the prize but a miss as good as a mile), fall between two (Calvinist church and civil) stools, and lose (come to grief at last in history) his cultural end.

What mattered most to moralists was the salvation of each soul and the whole society, through stabilizing the social system and the legal system, for whom social security began and ended with each civilian and congregant being in complete conformance with the moral law and committed to total obedience to ecclesiastical and civil law. Since these sacred and secular sets of rules and regulations were proclaimed indispensable, and inextricable human improvement constituent elements, it followed in the South among freedmen particularly that professional preachers and preceptors (Protestant parochial pastors and professors of Black and White pupils in postwar private academies) promulgated Puritanical moralisms as the superior reason and revelation process for being responsible and accountable to church and civil law, circumventing culpability in civil culture, and advancing through perfection to sanctification in history and eternity.

To accomplish this Civil War to World War I moral mission with all of its conditions including these mean (if not mean-spirited) means and ends, that churchmen most certainly believed matched for greatness and graciousness their magnanimity and magnificent missionary men and women, chief executive bureaucrats and technocrats of ecclesiastical bureaucracies (inclusive of agencies like the A.M.A. and Freedmen's Society spawned by other Denominations) commenced at the outset of the War between the States to collect from philanthropists and congregations the enormous charitable contributions the exciting appeal of moral missionary ministers and educators generated; to organize the amassed liberal outpourings of voluntary resources and personnel in a rational arrangement and responsible fiscal system (whose books were audited regularly by parochial and private public accountants); and to distribute widely on a massive scale the Northern liberality.

Modern moral missionary methods empowered ministers ministering to a ministering community, who as administrators of Black colleges and churches they formed and financed in the South administered better church charity than civil civility. Power along with pride and prejudice added force to these cultural determiners who were organized to beat the Devil back and Black folk down, up, and to drive both evil and error out of America to secure the land for God as the White Man's Country.

They eliminated the positive and accentuated the negative and thereby perverted authentic antiblack white-ethnic virtue, the dual potential power of positive negation and attraction of positive possibilities comprising the dynamic force of genuine Puritan Piety. But in their postbellum great ambition and stronger promise than performance Yankee-Puritan traditionalists most especially failed--as establishmentarian Congregationalists in their mid-course change of social conscience and public responsibility--to correct the critical ethical error antebellum Halfway Piety protectionists of the tradition enthusiastically rationalized and suffered gladly.

Their Reconstruction change and constancy continuation of this mistake was proudly proclaimed a correct correction by the parochial powerhouses, when they switched from leading to following the consensus and consecrated the

Hayes v. Tilden compromise of principle as a perfect sacrifice to expedience. This disclosure of the utilitarian features and fallacies of pragmatism, whose success is exceeded by its failure when idealists and realists confuse and fuse principle with expedience and declare the convenient the best possible viable option, exposed to the public the parochial virtue of necessity and consistency ideals and ideas of antiabolitionist and anti-Reconstructionist "Consistent Calvinists."

The Protestant power elite practiced these principles they preached as subjective/objective rational and moral means justifying the ends, precisely when they should have engaged the ends (Good and Right or God) justifying the *agape*-love/power/justice means of ethical excellence: whose great realities preceding and succeeding managed reality reaches of realism proabolition and pro-Reconstruction critics contended constituted the criterion of high consciousness and conscience, Christianity, and civility. The persistent pro-Reconstruction minority continued to be challengers of the anti-Reconstruction majority of Congregationalists, men and women on the margins of the philanthropic power circles, and to be persuaded that conservative and moderate traditionalists were often mistaken for nervous "nellies" and a callosal collective loss nerve when in actuality an overactive cautious cultural condition or congenital central nervous system excited their normal negative nervous energy.

Furthermore, the deconstructionist inductive and deductive reasoning of the Reconstructionists concluded, this social and spiritual cause and effect of their more frequent rearward fixation than forward marching moral motivation and measure perpetuated the politics of polarization that the moderation in all moral matters moderates dominating the static middle proposed to resolve: by being the moderate middle and uniting therein the extreme moderate end of the reactionary right and radical left polar opposites.

Additionally, Radical Republicans argued from silence, the cost-conscious conscience of the conservative moderates and moderate conservatives predetermined their progressive opposition to acceptance of perpetual (distinguished permanent) conflicts of real interests and true interests (as well as of principles and right and wrong) as the nature of human existence; resistance to aggression (save for selective civil they termed just wars) as moral and political power proper ways of correcting (rather than erasing) errors; and positive promotion of avoidance as the high principled means to end controversy.

From this centermost concern with the cost of consequences rather than with the consequences of cost-conditioned charity, asserted the aggressive adversaries of these advocates of the average as the leverage, derived their unrealistic corollary that constructive change is always and only produced by tensionless conciliation but never by creative conflict, and its ancillary illusion that praying for and doing nothing in time is productive since time is the great healer because implicit in time is explicit progress. Radical New Abolitionists and Reconstructionists determined to escape from being eclipsed entirely by this error of conception by seizing the time to correct the church and civil compromise of the color caste class condition.

BENEVOLENCE-DETERRENCE RULERS RULE LOVE LAW AND LAW LIFE

Concurrently, rival relatives in their role as religious right reparation rationalists possessed the motive, means, and opportunity to redeem the Yankee-Puritan virtue. They were powerful sons and daughters of the "Consistent Calvin-

ists" who had better reason to hope than to think they could remain faithful Calvinists without being every inch the predeterminationists their fathers were, their authorized revised standard version of the tradition was an absolute rather than relative difference in substance and style that produced so great a degree of difference from double damnation as to be a different kind of commanding color caste/bondage class prediction and control process and outcome, and their higher empirical rationalism and advanced logic resulted in a quantum leap of light years ahead of past predetermined class over caste religion and race relations as certainly as the far more sophisticated and subtle rational form and function replaced precisionist casuistry.

But these benevolent paternalists proceeded from the false premise that Protestant philanthropy is not a support mechanism for Christian civil competition but a preferred instrument rendering null and void for color caste cultural cousins the American pragmatism civil discourse and intercourse device that realists devised for citizens to resolve their necessary conflicts of real interests and values rationally.

Whence possessing a fully developed appreciation of the inextricably interlinked primary power politics principles and priorities of the ecclesiastical and civil powers, and boundless pretensions of being free and clear of power politics intentions and consequences in their church and state civil acts of creation, something was missing in power elite Protestants' transmission and translation of their Puritan Piety *agape*-love, justice, and power principle.

The predictable missing link was no less real and consequential for being patently obvious or obscure to the apperceptive cultural conservatives and critics. This apparent absence of connective linkage materialized in the appearances a natural and predeliberate if not predetermined critical imposition of decision makers. Briefly recalled for context, economic efficiency and fiscal responsibility principal premises and promises underpinned the principles and academic methodology of parochial parson and parishioner principals of private academies and church schools for freedmen that precluded political education from their practical curriculum that was based on religious and economic moral education. Yankee litigious litigators and legalists loved law no less absolutely than they made love, law, and love law or law love as decisively as they perverted the pure voluntary-benevolence *Nature of True Virtue* into the law of love.

Naturally Yankee architects of color caste class conditions for competition-free co-existence were less innovative than rigorous and vigorous virtue designers and implementors. Their experimental design for better living and earning a livelihood revolved around the theological faith and ethics elemental Calvinist doctrine of vocation as the moral method and mission as well as morality measure of professors and professionals. Calvinist vocation posited as the prime principle protestants being engaged in expending energy in sheer productive labor, whose axiom argued work is a virtue precisely because the Puritan work ethic made work or necessity a virtue and a virtue of necessity, and, thereby, Puritans who failed their attempt to clarify succeeded in obscuring the necessity of virtue by high powered fusion and confusion perforce jettisoning the distinction that makes all difference in the world between when necessity is a virtue and virtue is a necessity.

In the course of recurring retrogression, perforce positive progression from antebellum antiabolitionists to Civil War antislavocrats and reversion to postbellum anti-Reconstructionists, the linear progress persuaded and persuading pre-

scriptive progressive transformationists transmogrified, by turns, the Northern proslavocrats who swallowed not only the slavocracy bait but the entire hook, line, and sinker cast by the Southern slavocrats; and the Reconstruction deobligationists as transparently as Northeastern Republicans and Southeastern Democrats negotiated a double bottom line White Gentlemen's Agreement, comprising bargain basement bartering that revoked the rights of Black Republicans and returned control of the South to White Democrats whereby "Rebels" emerging enterprising Republocrats sold and Yankees bought the bridge (canceling the civil citizenship of color caste civilians).

This was surprising for sophisticated urban-suburban sons of the saints, and the Puritan merchants who cornered the market and provoked Calvinist parson guardians of public morals to coin the phrase "buyer beware," who had long-since learned to laugh at the city "slickers" who fleeced the rural and small town first-time visitors to the metropolis. Of course, Congregationalists both were conned by Confederates and neither the first nor last Northerners whom Southerners promised to show a good time in the South in return for the pandered million dollars.

Pursuant to the rationalized beautiful benevolence means and brutal benevolence ends of bountiful benefactors whose benefits were shared by lower-class and middle-class White and Black beneficiaries, the managers of reality were ethical engineers of elementary education and entrance-level employment. Their good as gold partial subsidiary of a survival support system for the "truly needy" included the rational distribution of solid social security services and soldiers with matching spiritual supplies, monetary and material goods, and religious revivals. But no less true is the equally important evincement: Being unprepared to admit the fact that their philanthropic public provisions were at once political actions and political acts, patrons of philanthropy did not consider the consequences of their actions.

Forthwith beneficent *bon hommes* refused to accept the truth claim that positive good and positive evil were intertwined in their generous gifts and graces, and the premise of the pertinent point pressed by impertinent biracial brethren that as benevolent paternalists they made their benevolence-deterrence subjects and objects greater victims than beneficiaries of their beneficence. Their rationalization was as logical as their justification by faith in reason. Nevertheless, the rhetoricians were wrong in what they denied and right in what they affirmed as unquestionably as the benefactors argued the arguments of Puritanical hypocrisy apropos the canard that since power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely power is *ipso facto* pure vice devoid of virtue; the absence of potential good and presence of evil inherent in power politics means power is the illusion rather than the capacity to effect the will or actualize choice; and power is the concentration of negative disincentive rather than positive incentive to disinterested will to the good.

Thus their Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethics and genuine Puritan Piety produced the negative-dynamic overbalancing the positive-dynamic of genuine antiblack white-ethnic virtue, whose true conversion and perversion of the underdeveloped authentic public interest ethic resulted in the postbellum Congregationalists reverting to antebellum type as Calvinists engaged in alternately driving the black Devil (source of "demon run" as Prohibition Party power politics partisan Protestant parsons and parishioners) and the Black body out of the United States: so that God and the White race of ethnic minorities would not be shut out of North America, and total control of the sove-

reign state, secured and arranged by true believers in Divine Providence for the White ethnic individual; to guarantee the opportunity of each White race (and every other ethnic-specific) male/female to pursue personal happiness at expense of the Black-race male/female; and legitimated by the White Gentlemen's Agreement that the citizenry ratified and declared the Constitution of the United States of America.

CONGREGATIONAL CLERGY FOLLOW PRESBYTER LYMAN BEECHER

Whether unbeknown to the Protestant professors and performers, or whether not necessarily so as per usual in matters of moment involving Yankee rationalists, the A.M.A. was an equally sacred and profane church and state social convention, American Civil Religion invention, and parochial and private partnership for public progress designed to achieve an equally secular and religious civil objective. As a result of executing their ends-means aims and other expert engineering management of this moral medium and mission, Congregationalists were translating Evangelical Millennial pragmatic dogma into dogmatic pragma, and the Churchocracy for Christocracy utilitarian benevolence that Jonathan Edwards preferred and defined as *The Nature of True Virtue*.

Correlatively, in their very late antebellum and less radical than progressive forage into the antislavery field, the A.M.A. agents followed by nearly two decade the vapor trail Presbyterian Lyman Beecher produced for Congregationalists when he and fellow antiabolitionists collided with proabolitionists in Boston, prior to the "Connecticut Yankee" presbyter moving his ministry from the Hanover Street Congregationalist Church in Boston to the Second Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati.

Beecher's anti-Black race interest-specific Connecticut Yankee spirit compared as a contributing factor to his undue Reformed (Presbyterian) influence upon Orthodoxy (Congregationalism) as the efficient precipitating cause of a singular effect, to wit, Beecher made the command of the Congregationalist clergy class his mid-1830s wish that the New England churchmen exclude from their sacred churches (in their secular role as town meeting halls) New Abolitionist lecturers. Mid-antebellum Congregationalist power elite parsons, who formed a collective Calvinist conscious, exercised the hyperexclusive prerogatives of the privileged class to execute a preemptive strike of the civil rights and civil liberties of color caste Congregationalist clergy and laity.

Powerhouses delayed the access of color caste congregants to local church and community Christianity and civility constructs for correcting corrupt acts and injurious laws, whose harm-limiting ways and means other Congregationalists took for granted were not a privilege but a right; to commonwealth religious liberty, freedom of conscience and freedom of association, guaranteed by the ecclesiastical and civil powers' united church and state; and to participatory democracy inclusive of the republican right of electing representatives ("no taxation without representation"). This strategic and tactical delaying of justice was accomplished by denying the legitimate claim of Congregational color caste class cultural cousins to the equal rights and responsibilities guaranteed White ethnic immigrant Catholics.

White Protestant capital and managed joined with White Catholic labor as upper-class and lower-class ends of the power device, and commenced moving from polar opposite ends to squeeze the life out of the Black body inescapably bound in the middle of the virtue and vice manipulating moral mechanism. The

screws were turned by masters of enterprise and skilled craftsman, proponents of monism and hyperexclusion, and pale class adversaries of biracial advocates of pluralism and egalitarianism. The A.M.A. emerged two decades too late to reverse this antebellum antiabolitionist and pro-Colonizationist principle preferred by eastern establishmentarians. It was concurrently rapidly developing into an antislavocracy-proslavocracy neutral policy, which status quo process of progressive transformationism the Beechers struggled heroically to stabilize in the West.

ALEXANDER KINMONT IN CINCINNATI

Lyman Beecher permanently departed (whereas several of his sons remained in) the Congregationalist Church clergy class and returned to his original Presbyterian Denomination when, with his third wife and most of his eleven children during the 1830s and 1840s, the Reformed presbyter temporarily relocated in Cincinnati as President of Layne Seminary and pastor of the Second Reformed Church.

Beecher transmitted and translated as well as translocated to the Western Frontier Eastern culture and establishmentarian elitism, "Connecticut Yankee" middle-class morality and respectability, and Puritanical moralisms and manners as morals. In this dual role as Puritan parson and academic administrator, the professional evangelist and revivalist waxed and waned as the driving force within the power circles of the two national establishment Protestant Churches.

Whether made or born a Wednesday Child ("full of woe"), Beecher relocated from Connecticut to Massachusetts to become among the best and brightest brahmin a brilliant and bold Boston brain and burr in the seat of the Commonwealth. He reached the top of his form and peak of influence as a peerless powerhouse Protestant principles preceptor in New England, years before the A.M.A. was thinkable in the Congregationalist Church, subsequently conceived in the strife torn sectarian body of Christ, and finally delivered amid pure Puritan (preferred prejudice and punishment presence or demonstrable perfect is the enemy of the best possible) pain (maximizing) and pleasure (minimizing) as the pride of the Yankees.

"Consistent Calvinist" conscious-conscience concern with driving caste down beneath class and out of the country was historically crystallized in the rational revelation and race reasons related by the "Connecticut Yankee" cultural determiners, among whom the Lyman Beecher ménage plus his preceptors and peers appeared in the front ranks more frequently than the first among equals, whose undivided will (to power) and justification by faith (in reason) passed for the mind of model modern moralists. Whether an English race (Congregationalist) or whether a British ethnic (Presbyterian) representative, Beecher earned the credit he received as the national treasure in whom the values of White Nationalism were crystal clear, consistently selectively engaged and disengaged, and persistently alternately affirmed and disaffirmed.

But as he swiftly ascended in ecclesiastical power and authority in Connecticut, forty years before his middle-of-the-road equation of the Golden Mean and Golden Rule lost force and he descended as rapidly in Cincinnati, his published assessment of Black folk publicly pronounced the people a body of precious little merit.

Synchronously, Alexander Kinmont (1799-1839), whom Beecher would come to respect as a White-ethnic intellectual after the British ethnic émigré immigrated

from Scotland and disjoined the Presbyterian Church, constructed a comparative culture analysis of human species religion and race relations; calculated the like and unlike constituent elements of the several human races and their multiform varieties of ethnic groups; and drew from his irreversible reflectiveness a different conclusion that turned from deprecating the Black race as a depreciating entity to an appreciation of the enduring values and lasting worth of Black people.

Kinmont's assessment occurred after he was educated at the University of Edinburgh, emigrated (in 1823) to the United States, and settled in his post as principal of a private academy in Bedford (midway between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania.[216]

On this Pennsylvania frontier from which territory British ethnic immigrant fierce fighters drove and were driving Native American ethnic groups, Kinmont discovered Swedenborgianism and converted to this reason-replete faith, rational ethics, and advanced logical Protestant mysticism. In the absence of Trinitarian and Congregationalism in Western Pennsylvania, he leaped to cerebral religion from Calvinist Presbyterianism to unite with Swedenborgians.

They shared values with Unitarians and Universalists, the anti-Calvinist New Englanders turned nemesises of their pro-Calvinist Puritan Presbyterian and Yankee Congregationalist kith and kin, particularly in their mutual preference for theology-limiting (faith-diminished and ethics-intensive) philosophy of religion.

The Swedenborgian movement in America attracted contemporaries seeking to be scientific religion specialists, totally subjective-free and completely objective individuals, and independent minds unbound by community constraints inherent in the (individual-in-the- community and community-in-the-individual) great religions of the world.

Odd and even peculiar deviants from the church and civil cultural norm were also charmed by this enchanting elitist standard of rational romantic racialism and realism-delimited idealism. In the aftermath of the Calvinist-Puritan (along with the Quaker-Puritan and Anglican-Puritan) theocracy, whose dissolution created a unity void and driving need for the unification of profane and sacred values, Swedenborgianism surfaced in this vacuum to fill the demanding spiritual hunger and thirst for universal virtues; stood out as a classic American secularization of religion and religionization of secularism cause and effect; and engergized an experience-deficient theory of reality from which abstract ground Swedenborgians created an ethical crucible they expected would transform the elective affinities of religious humanitarianism and secular humanism from a mere accidental and incidental generalizable syncretism for sophisticates into a universalizable synergy.

Robert Carter (1728-1804) was a remarkable quixotic American individualist, earlier (Revolution era) convert to Swedenborgianism, and one-time Southern Baptist (when the Denomination was a united national Church). Carter's new found faith in the national era complemented the universal liberty idea and idealism upspringing with the formation of the nation and pervading the Independence period.

An Anglican slavemaster who joined the Puritan slavemasters to become an Old Abolitionist (or manumissionist most certainly), prior to the birth of democracy's slavocracy when a minority of Southern aristocrats believed universal self-determination of each individual human being and sovereign state to be the natural law, natural rights, and of the human species. These idealists were real-

ists in their role as architects of the Constitution, Founding Fathers who formed the nation by comprising their principles, and true believers in the truth claim that liberty in freedom is at once the indispensable necessity for the growth and development of true virtue and the high Christianity and civility criterion of civilized rule of law, right, and reality.

Given this form follows function rule of righteousness and right, that the legitimate rulers ruled in order for each White ethnic individual (male member of the Union), Carter arguably materialized akin to the Northeastern human bondage disinvestment standard deviations from the norm; distinguished from these higher Constitution (states' rights slavery right and right choice enacted into law and enforced by the first Fugitive Slave Act) than conscience walking contradictions; and differed both from the Northeastern and Southeastern Anglo-American ratifiers of the Constitution who respectively compromised their antislavery principles and refused to compromise their proslavery principles. Irrespective of the secular and sacred sources of his conscious intentions and consequences, underpinning his motives and means impelling him to take advantage of his opportunity, Carter's personal integration of private, parochial, and public ethics compelled him to manumit his last five hundred plus slaves: who constituted the remainder of the seven hundred plus captives that the Christian captor previously held in captivity.

Parallels can be drawn between the years 1788-1800, when Old Abolitionists reached their zenith; 1830, when the first New Abolitionist (William Lloyd Garrison) publicly renounced his membership in the ACS and was followed out of antiabolitionist by his converts to pro-immediatism who formed the AAS in 1833; and 1840, when the proabolitionists who united in the AAS against the ACS divided into AAS one dimensional moral-only pressure (nonviolent and nonpolitical) Garrisonians and AFAS two dimensional moral and political power Tappanites.

New Abolitionists organized around their unique and distinct double abolition of bondage and caste principle, but abandoned the radical twin resolve for the single universal and conditional immediate eradication of slavery task-responsibility within two years of their AAS formation.

During this year of revolution in religion and race relations, and years of retreat to reformation through radical reason and revelation, Kinmont studied the teachings of Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772): the ennobled Swedish physical scientist (mining engineer), social scientist (psychologist), and philosophical theologian founder of Swedenborgianism. In line with the empiricist and romanticist being a renaissance man, Swedenborg treated the spiritual faculty as the constituent element of human nature and the highest universal condition uniting human beings. This vision of the human species was correlated positively with the worldview developed by Jonathan Edwards, his contemporary who was born and buried in the 1700s and by this yardstick emerged (by scholarly consensus) one of the two great eighteenth-century American minds (Benjamin Franklin being the other).

Edwards' romantic idealism was enveloped by an imaginative analytical comprehension of psychological empiricism, and creative combination of logical mysticism and empirical rationalism. His chief intellectual chief objective was to secure a solid foundation for his ultimate faith in God and Evangelical Millennialism methodology. He perceived his philosophy of religion to be validated by objective realism and objective subjective idealism, and an empirically verifiable statement of objective reality and ultimate reality. In actuality, realism was the

missing link between the Puritan architect of Calvinistical Halfway Piety and the earliest of his Yale and "Connecticut Yankee" descendants in the West.

Yet when compared for social ethics to the social ethicist Swedenborg, Edwards' elder contemporary on the Continent who survived the New Englander by two decades, their sharp contrast is most instructive due to their common centermost concern and commitment. It is unmistakable and measurable in light of their mature and concluding judgment regarding the mutually agreed upon heart of the matter, concerning which Swedenborg set forth a final statement that differed in degree rather than in kind from the last will and testament Edwards issued earlier.

Edwards commanded considerable rational powers of logical thought and direct action, and he formally focused them on clearing a space for the Millennium: whose eminent powers and imminent presence Edwards specifically stated were so near at hand that he could "taste" the beautiful truth, and fully expected to see the arriving transcendence and to applaud her surface landing in New England. But Edwards was unexpectedly stricken by tuberculosis at the top of his intellectual form, and while presumably looking for the impending Millennium he entered the irreversible death and dying stages too soon for history and too early for eternity to commence on *terra firma.*

Whether the contemporary mystics met in myth and mystery or whether their astro plane lines perpetually paralleled and never intersected in human time and space, it is noteworthy that just one year before Edwards died Swedenborg proclaimed the arrival of the Second Coming of Christ (in 1757) and promptly organized his New Church.

One no less consequential difference between the Swedish and American psychological empiricists for being commonsensical is the obvious different life after their death in color-conscious class and caste cultural determiners of their enduring values and disvalues. The expanding and contracting influence of Edwards appeared to have an imperceptible bearing upon American secular philosophical and psychological thought after the Revolutionary War. The development by the Edwardseans and post-Edwardseans of Edwards' benevolence, that he directed to advance neither theocracy nor democracy but Churchocracy for Christocracy, commenced with Evangelical Calvinists' reversing his anti-political thrust to become partisan Federalist Party power politics parsons, turned from late eighteen-century pro-political to early nineteenth-century apolitical Halfway Piety, reverted to hardball politics in 1850, and abandoned the *realpolitik* after the Civil War save for the Protestant parties (Anti-Saloon League and Prohibition Party).

Contrariwise, the Swedenborgian Church of the New Jerusalem (1788) was formed in London sixteen years after Swedenborg died; his teachings were initially introduced in the United States in 1788 whereas the first New Church in America originated in Baltimore in 1792; and the social ideas and ideals of Swedenborgianism had a profounder effect than did Edwardseanism upon secular philosophical worldviews in nineteenth-century North America.

CALVINIST CONVERT CONVERTING CALVINIST CONVERTERS

Kinmont evolved into a major measure of the minor but not unimportant minister of Swedenborgianism in Cincinnati, where he spent the last years of his and delivered (in 1837 and 1838) his posthumously published *Twelve Lectures on the Natural History of Man* (1839). He established the New Church in the

North and South border city on the East and West boundary line, where fugitives crossed from the slaveholding state of Kentucky into the free state of Ohio; disembarked with fellow Passengers after the Stationmaster signalled the direction and the Conductor terminated Train at the Underground Railroad Station; and discovered neither liberty in freedom nor the Promised Land but a metropolitan center whose superstructure and infrastructure was pervaded with the Americanization of class over caste values.

Swedenborgians subtle proselytizers whose strong suit was the real alternative they formed for sound and sane than safe and secure Cincinnati centrists: who knew they had problem on their hands in a territory charged with professional proterrorist practitioners and antiterrorist theoreticians, whose counterpositive consociations seemed to be ironically inimical and an odd couple of powers preying on powerless pedestrians and praying for time to change the minds of brutal benevolence and Black body beating brutes. Sectarian (pro-Calvinist and anti-Calvinist) and ecumenical churchmen and pure profane Protestants, pulled and pushed beyond the Northern and Southern Frontiers of the East toward the Frontiers in the West, formed a moving minority of educated non-specialists in Occidental and Oriental philosophy and science from the Eastern shores; crashed into reality managed for the majority rule transmigrants on the Western plains by moral minds in power and authority who equated tolerance with legitimate legal injustice perforce permissiveness of lawless mobocracy terrorists and unjust slavocracy slavecatchers; and clashed with the crass crowd in cultural class wars and color-blind versus color-conscious consciences.

Swedenborgianism appeared more of positive possibility thinking ethical culture society than a New Church to the rival revivalist rationalists, less of a threat than a promise of lively lecturers in a world dependent upon the lecture circuit to add a spice of life, and the establishment of a regular forum that added choice and variety to the leisure class in the wilderness. Thus Swedenborgianism was viewed as a secular humanism and religious humanitarianism synthesis and warmly welcomed as a positive correlation of individual and social Christian principles by churchmen, who compared the evangelists and executioners engaged in electrifying the electorate and thought Swedenborgianism beat the next best viable option by a country mile.

The Swedenborgian systematic and systemic synergy also benefited from the constancy and change conditions middle-of-the-road moralists were committed to stabilize and modify gradually. Swedenborgianism was conciliation and cooperation amid the conflict of classes and cultures in an environment of excitement, exacerbated by excited extremists, that engendered centrist consensus as an exciting choice.

When set in the context of the Evangelical World Alliance mind of benevolent imperialists, who were propelled by the power-hunger drive toward claiming the nineteenth-century as the Protestant century for universal ecclesiastical dominance, it comes as no surprise to discover the universalism connection of sacred and secular minority of citizens for high principled Christianity and civility from the East who relocated in the West among the majority from south as theological liberals, social moderates, and political and economic conservatives.

The missing link in Ohio between the English race literati (forming around Catherine and Harriet Beecher) and the British ethnic intellectual (Kinmont) materialized in the form of the connective linkage between the Intuitionism of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Emmanuel Swedenborg. A complementary critical fac-

tor contributing to the attractiveness of Swedenborgianism in Cincinnati was that Kinmont left no one able to follow a rational argument a single serious reason to doubt that for him Swedenborgianism surfaced and soared as the essence and manifestation of Western reason, to wit, the empirically verifiable and validated proof of the power of white magic (pure reason and sheer logic plus mysticism complementing Transcendentalism).

Arguably, Kinmont added to North American Swedenborgianism a dash of Eastern establishment elitism premises, and a measure of syncretistic principles, in his endeavor to relate his abstract synergism to the *American Dilemma* theory and experience in reality.

During his mission to convert the culture determiners to linear moral progress progressive transformationist of the human condition, the British-ethnic immigrant convert from the Reformed tradition discovered his Presbyterian *bona fides* permitted his change in philosophy and theology to be credible in the West, negotiable among the rich and famous serious men and women, and influential for the enterprising parochial and private entrepreneurs currently competing on the Frontier for God, Gold, and Glory.

Understandably, therefore, the Scotch-Irish émigré and his Swedenborgian innovative mix of universal religion and science met with instant acceptance and enthusiastic embrace by secular and religious Yankee-Puritan elitists. They included few Trinitarian Congregationalists, many more of their Presbyterian emissaries in Cincinnati (the Western center of Eastern establishment culture consisting of the Lyman Beecher family and compeer illuminati), and a small cadre of intellectuals currently committed and becoming wedded to the Unitarian Congregationalist Church that founder William Ellery Channing in Boston (the personal friend and professional foe of Lyman Beecher) coterminously led along with the Northeastern literati.

Kinmont made full use of the extensive range of his depth perception to excite his auditors to engage in positive possibility thinking, to expand the universal human constituent elements of reason and ethics and mutually fertile powers for linear human condition improvement progress, and to increase their understanding of the complementary moral power nature and function of secular and religious rational virtues and vices. He argued the facts of his case and made his point stick: The relevance of secular humanist and religious humanitarian ethics is the indisputable fact that the profane and sacred personal and social values of each individual and community have cultural consequences in the private, parochial, and public sectors.

Apperceptive Kinmont set forth subtle distinctions whose nice nuances drew applause from Cincinnatians attending the lectures, who, as Social Darwinians committed to market generated goods and services and market determined distribution of public benefits, were particularly impressed by his demonstrated appreciation of their dependence as public servants on patron of the voluntary charities: the enterprising entrepreneurs whose labor-intensive disincentives and capital-intensive incentives proved productive and fiscally responsible features of their capitalist ethic, prudent monetary methods of monitoring the margins to ensure increased interest returns on their vestments, and profit-making proceeds passed on as the financial contributions funding Protestant philanthropy.

Kinmont was aware of the correspondence between opportunism and productivity, which men of enterprise settling the West translated as industry, and understood the elective affinity between Calvinism and capitalism that the select professors revered and revealed to be their rationalized Protestant motive,

means, and opportunity. He journeyed from Pennsylvania to Ohio as the moral medium is the message and method messenger, and as quickly as he settled keenly observed that his mission for the advancement of human improvement required change. The Cincinnatians he addressed discerned why it followed in his logic and life that meaningful change in the cultural crisis was not easy but manageable and negotiable as well as affordable if a critical analysis of the fundamental contraries setting Black-race and White-ethnic Americans in polar positions is avoided.

However precisely thoroughly or tentatively the prophesier believed the contraries were resolvable by the power of rational and moral arguments only, Kinmont knew the politics of polarization were fed by and fed on class and caste group conflicts of true and real interests and values, energized by the determination of White race/ethnic intensive minorities to maintain their advantage by forcing their Black race-specific kinsfolk to remain in either human bondage and/or both permanent caste class constraints and competitive disadvantage throughout the South and the North. White Nationalists generated the need and supplied the demand of Black Nationalism by expanding rather than contracting the White Nationalism idea of keeping Black free-born, freed, and fugitive standard deviations from the bondman norm, exceptions conditioned by a liberty without freedom and vice versa existence, and civilians denied equal civil liberties, civil rights, and civil responsibilities.

Whether Northern middle-class moralists set the standard or whether knowing imitation is the sincerest form of flattery they imitated White Southern gentlemen, Kinmont passed the identical litmus test of Northeastern patricians and Southeastern aristocrats who demonstrated that for their Protestant power elite class manners do not simply go along with morals but manners are morals; morals are manners; and a radical appraisal of the underlying cause of the power corrupting absolutely the political economy, together with a root analysis of the secular and religious conspirators, remained an intolerable revolutionary approach.

Kinmont promptly and properly addressed his audience whom he approached as select Christians who elected the duty of producing wealth as their first principle, argued the standard of productivity was the only meritorious criterion by which they were correctly judged, and demonstrated the fair distribution of economic health and welfare was a low priority they ranked just above the guarantee to color caste Cincinnatians equal access to the political and economic systems--that is, one set far beneath their bottom line scale of values.

The Beecher ménage clarified this central cultural nervous system and congenital conservative condition as certainly as they constituted for initiated contemporaries a central cast of creative characters, constellation of sacred and secular culture stars, and dramatic figures whose performances were fairly representative of the Presbyterian class of middle-class morality and respectability in the West.

The divided secular and sacred sectarians united as a body of establishmentarians opposed to serious power sharing with competitive color caste church and civil culture cousins.

Certainly constituent proselytizing parson and parishioner members were not a conscious conspiracy but so enamored of profit-making and profit-sharing Protestant philanthropists' profitable philanthropy, first and foremost among which business of business and business of religion being the Black-race deportation-intensive ASC that they principally financed with interest off the prin-

ciple invested in slave labor-intensive and free labor-intensive (inclusive of the cotton agricultural and manufacturing) industries, that these benevolent paternalists confused brutal benevolence (monstrous and monster munificence magnified by the magnificent domestic and foreign deterrence-benevolence system that the ASC for the systematic and systemic denationalization of the color caste class consolidated) with charity (virtue and the one and only absolute) or *agape*-love/power/justice (part of whose dynamism was lost in Jonathan Edwards' translation that they appropriated as positively as he defined benevolence as the *Nature of True Virtue*.

This real result upspringing from Calvinist capitalists' calculated or miscalculated rational intentions and consequences was scarcely surprising for the Orthodoxy-Reformed select "Elect" who called their real (estate) interests true (God or Ultimate Good and Right) interests, and capital gains (pure and simple compound interests off complex color caste class investments) and gold grace (the ultimate nature and reward of God).[217]

Kinmont apprehended the powerhouses' rationalization of their acquiescence to church and civil constitutions circumscribing color caste congregants' citizenship, equation of the slavery is freedom (for the slaves) and freedom (for White Christian males and females) is slavery (indentured servitude for Black Christian bondmen and bondwomen and caste for the color class at liberty in perpetuity) with the Moral Law writ large in the proslavery Bible and Constitution, and argument for total obedience to God and man (God-ordained legitimate powers and authorities) and therefore *ipso facto* their enacted and enforced states' rights and Fugitive Slave Act(s) laws.

The reason and revelation realists revered the arranged corrupt and corrosive structures of superstructure and infrastructure as if because Providence-permitted the error and evil (like the Devil the "Elect" elected to drive out of the White mind and body politic and corporate as well as body of Christ along with the Black "Elect of God") they were as permanently right and righteous as they were sacrosanct and inviolable to the sons and daughters of the wayward worldly saints and sinners.

BLACK (NOT WHITE) ETHNIC-AFRICANS AND RACE-AMERICANS IN A RACIAL ROMANTIC

Kinmont understood Calvinists were legalistic litigious litigators, professional private and parochial lawyers whose respect for precedence in ecclesiastical and civil law was a causal factor in their theoretical laws and principles being set in concrete premises, and convinced the political and economic structures were correct and no more needed immediate fundamental correction than destabilization of the vital status quo cotton and conscience connection sustained by planter/plantation and manufacturer/manufactory industrial capitalism was constructive. Thus as a better profit presager than Protestant prophet, Kinmont turned from speaking truth to power, turned down enlightened engagement of indispensable political power, turned out seeking peace and prosperity through securing economic strength and moral force, and turned up a seer who claimed for his elevated high culture not only heightened and higher consciousness than the *Conscience and the Constitution* but individual and community linear ethical progress.

Matching descriptive facts with discriminating value judgments, Kinmont was prepared to argue the facts and figures of his case for the superiority of Swed-

enborgianism with intensely passionate and dispassionate rationalism. He commenced in the fashion appreciated by up-to-date Calvinist revisionists with his appeal to "particular providence" (a sacred theology term that the religious philosopher translated into secular scientific language and equated with God-created natural rights and the natural "law of nature"). Providence, Kinmont asserted, designed a unique place, space, and pace for "each particular race of men" to develop separately and distinctly in different regions of the world their special cultural function and contribution to the human species. What Hegel identified as "*the spirit*" of each folk distinguishing them from every other ethnic group, Kinmont called the nature-structured and nature's God-endowed utilitarian trait whose universal instrumental value inheres in every entity being an essential and necessary part of the one human race (a diverse whole composed of mutually fertile race and ethnic groups and individuals born of equal worth but with unequal or different gifts and graces).

The wholeness of the never static or ever-dynamic humankind is reflected in the relative deficiency and sufficiency of *homo sapiens*, comprising individuals who can no more be an autonomous phenomenon than humanity can be a self-acting entirety; a progressive process produced by neither either a great man or powerful group nor the whole that is greater than the sum of its parts but by the growth from comparatively undeveloped and underdeveloped through developing to developed stages of each dependent, independent, and interdependent individual person and group member of the species group; and entirely subject to the objective progression of each inextricably intertied and indispensable part of the genus.

This is the case, according his logic, since each race (generally and its ethnic groups specifically) possesses a constituent element that the distinctive entity alone can appreciate or depreciate in value.[218]

Precisely (in lieu of political power and with moral might) on this cultural corner, of non-interchangeable diverse races moving from disadvantageous discord to advantageous accord (diversity-in-unity and unity-in-diversity), Kinmont turned to speak his truth in love and justice to power. In this prophetic posture, the fortuneteller transmogrified forthteller told the fortune hunters (justifying their elevation of the English race slavemasters in status by condemning the British ethnic overseers and slavecatchers to a lower class beneath but above the Black underclass they treated as belonged to another gene pool), that, despite the permanency of slavery throughout the existence of powerful cultures and civilizations, the positive sin of the previously predominantly international and currently preponderantly domestic African slavetrade introduced an unique human error and evil in history, to wit, the abhorrent Western slave system of condemning a people to human bondage in perpetuity.

Underscoring the fact that civilized states on every continent either in antiquity and/or both the past and present legalized the progressively discovered injustice of involuntary servitude, because they did not equate preemption of self-determination with perverse and pernicious dehumanization, Kinmont linked his condemnation of the West with the judgment that Western slavery was a calculated act of European powers, a corrosive reason and corruptive power process, and a classic instance of self-serving real interests that realists rationalized as enlightened self-interests.

Catholic and Calvinist Continental powers' consecration of captivity constituted an error of deception, whose nullification of civility and Christianity in history and current reality violated the natural rights of African multi-ethnics,

the natural rights and natural law and order philosophy of secular and religions proponents of democracy and the American republic, and the human being structure designed by Divine Being (specifically the species-distinctive reason and liberty essence precedes).

Finally, first and foremost rather than last or least significant for Kinmont, by preempting reason (capacity to discriminate that when activated automatically generates freedom of choice) and self-determination (capacity to act on the correct or incorrect selected choice or free will decision-making center of individual responsibility), the constituent elements comprising the central content of the conscience (capacity to know good and right from evil and wrong), democracy's slavocracy prevents nature's God-arranged development of the human species, race and ethnic groups, and individual rights and responsibility.

Kinmont elucidated his hypothesis, thesis, and theory of slavery; posited the principle that culture superimposed involuntary servitude is an unmixed evil, sin, and crime against humanity; and concluded with his salient point that he was absolutely certain was unassailable: Black-race bondage is a critical imposition no person worthy of respecting for his/her ethical attitudinal and behavioral thoughts and actions can claim to be anything less than unconscionable.

Moving to relate profane and sacred harmony in matters pertaining to universal values, Kinmont asserted that even from secular humanists' enlightened self-interest perspective the terrible terror and evil "error" of African slavery constitutes a perplexity whose complexity is compounded by Western man's confounded Original Sin (*hubris*) of pride and prejudice proclivity; attempt to reverse nature; and determination to override God's Moral Law purpose for (inherent in the nature and function of the species), whose self-revelation is the transparent natural law of human growth, development, and improvement.

Kinmont challenged the proslavery Southern slavocrats and proslavocracy/antislavocracy Northern proslavocrats who employed Westerner enlightenment to argue that the states' right law rendering the slavocracy a legal system thereby made the "peculiar institution" ethical, whom he claimed were caught acting to out-God God and for which obscene self-manipulation ought to be apprehended by solid citizens' arrest and charged with indecent public exposure.

Facing the Cincinnati church and civil counselors, some of whom he could identify as professionals from the East as assuredly as he knew that Philadelphia lawyers were liars, Kinmont made it clear he thought it was not a moot point but axiom that those who approved slavery automatically appropriated the natural laws and natural rights of the human condition, which, by definition, are the divine laws, divine rights, and divine prerogatives of God.

Lecturer Kinmont was sensitive to the keen intellectual appetite of educated Easterners in the West, which was whetted rather than allayed by the proliferation of profane and sacred proselytizers competing to secure the Territories as free and slave states, and rival revivalists whose Evangelicalism was no less political and rancorous for being concentrated on sectarian evangelism.

Eastern Protestant establishmentarians were clerical professionals who withdrew from civil to church partisan party power politics and economic profit-motives, thought that by being moralists and philanthropists they could circumvent culpability for the consequences of the competitive real interests and values constituting the driving forces of the slave-intensive political economy that their enterprising entrepreneurial parishioners declared the business of business, and were satisfied to defend capitalists who argued that making a profit was not the vulgar business of business but the mother's milk of philanthropy (the

business of religion).

Of course, those who viewed money as the root of all evil were rarely if ever establishmentarian Calvinists. In the twin faith and ethics halves of the industry-intensive religion of "New Light" Congregationalist and "New School" Presbyterian Calvinism, capital and labor remained for revisionist traditionalists dual moral dynamics of the Calvinist doctrine of vocation, revered as the means of producing wealth for the political economy as well as moral meaning plus philanthropy, and respected as the resource making the leisure class distinctive and source of its reduction of pain and magnification of pleasure principle.

In this state of relaxation and recreation and reflection, the clerical leisure class chartered charity courses and generated benevolists and beneficial benevolences.

These solicited gifts and grants were exempted from the fear and threat of corruption as well as taxation, increasingly expanded from minor contributions through major collections to massive monetary largess, and the singular reason why moralists were so excited by economics they emitted the cry *eureka* and bethinking capital the *elixir vitae* and politics impotence placed nothing so much as distance between themselves and public politics.

In actuality, the abundant benevolence amassed by the benevolent bureaucracies created a powerful political instrument for the clergy who switched from civil to church power politics, engaged in the politics of philanthropy as interlocking directorates of the ACS and denominational agencies, and justified in these roles as benevolent paternalists their preference for not advancing the competitive political power and economic employment real interests of Black folk whom they provided with elementary evangelism, education, and enervation.

Kinmont mainly addressed these Protestant powerhouses, and lectured them only on the rational, ethical, and religious "History of Man": leaving the critical auditors and readers to infer from the implication these alone among the basic constituent elements of *homo faber* comprise the keys to moral progress in a power politics state and cultural crisis. His predeliberate circumvention of politics-sensitive principles was as political as it was easily explainable and a defensible decision.

Howbeit judicious and consistent with his intellectual worldview, the absence of political man in his quest for archetypal universal man was the fundamental reason why instead symmetry characterizing the crest asymmetry dominated the apex of his "History of Man." This search amid disunity and misery for grandeur and unity of man was an ambitious undertaking, whose chief objective entailed correcting the perceived raw physical power weakness of man by not checking and balancing but trashing and replacing it with sheer spiritual and cerebral strength.

Paradoxically, in spite of beginning and ending in high principle, the radical liberal finding was flawed by an error of conception cause and error of perception effect of a conservative methodology plus narrow-focused subjective objective point of view: whose strict constructionist constriction of the power-intensive nature and function of his humanity subject and object forced the rational romantic to miss the permanent dual positive power (capacity for perpetually creating and correcting relative good and right) and negative power (capacity for persistently promoting evil and wrong) potential constituting the greatness and smallness of man/woman.

Kinmont's labor of love was full of sweeping generalizations, but the evident

endeavor to reveal the beauty of diversity in unity as the greatness and glory of humankind, as well as struggle to achieve the unification of the universe of differences through ejecting the presumed blameworthy (power conflicts) and retaining the presumed praiseworthy (one body-physical and mind-mental and soul-spiritual) realities, seemed strangely juxtaposed to his emphasis on the superiority of the Western "intellectual expansion" of the arts and sciences, and inferiority of Occidental spirituality induced by White race/ethic groups' natural contraction of state-of-the-art religion.

Kinmont posited as an axiom his assertion that spirituality-deficient Europeans require an additive religious component complementing their peerless pure reason efficiency to be human, to achieve the body-mind-soul human harmony and human balance precondition for linear moral progress improvement of the human condition, and to advance beyond spiritual sanctification and rational civility to the realization of Christian perfection. He proposed that this dynamic religion missing link is the unique and distinct splendiferous spirituality Black African ethnic groups alone possess in abundance and only the "rude lineaments of the Ethiopian" can supply.[219]

Auditor Lyman Beecher who heard Kinmont as an antiabolitionist who remained an unwavering Colonizationist, and aggressive marketeer in the moral market of the antislavery ACS' denationalization principle and process whose principal purpose entailed the deportation of native North American Black folk to Africa. The cost-prohibitive reality of this cost-intensive contribution to color caste church and civil culture cousins was not seriously considered by the chariots of charity. Beecher managed to pervert the pro-White race/ethnic interest-policy into a pro-Black race interest-policy race, to believe the cultural determiners whose prediction and control of their color caste congregants was a capacity exceeded in its awesomeness by their power to define the Black body an excludable class, to certify on the record that this ACS beneficence was in bare essence the measurable pure benevolence *Nature of True Virtue*, and to avow that the "back to Africa" brotherhood and brotherly love motive, means, and message of the evenhanded exchange moral medium was neither brutal benevolence-deterrence nor racism but realized rights and right perforce the race removal right of the righteous right.

Presbyterian Beecher (from Connecticut while located in Cincinnati) fully expected the expatriation of the Black race project to be completed by the influential ACS agency. The ACS was the sophisticated and up-to-date organizational outcome of the process commenced by Connecticut Yankee Samuel Hopkins: the Old Abolitionist Congregationalist-clergyman from whose mid-1770s innovative imagination leaped into history the inspired Millennium-intensive and Calvinist-capitalized Evangelization-Education-Missionization "back to Africa" mission impossible, whose brilliant turning of the *Conscience and Constitution* problem (color caste/bondage existence in the country settled for the White ethnic individual) into an opportunity (Evangelization of the Black ethnic groups in Africa by the Black race from America) failure was surpassed only by the success of the antiabolitionist revisionists who rediscovered, reembodied, and revitalized the elimination of the Black body final solution to the *White Man's Burden* through their posthumously 1816/1817-organized ASC (the Federal Government parochial-private-public humanitarian arm of church and state that survived for one hundred years).

Currently reason and revelation rationalizing racism reverberated throughout the Christianization-Civilization-Colonization mission of the ACS, and the im-

perialistic foreign and domestic ecclesiastical and civil powers. Romantic Kinmont engaged ruthless realists and ravaging racists were raging rogues and rioters romping in his irreversible reflectiveness, and unwittingly reinforced rather than reversed when he added to their rigorous realism his principle of rational racial romanticism.

Kinmont promoted Africa for the Africans, demonstrated consequential complete innocence or ignorance in excluding White South African ethnics from calculated concentration on Black Africa for the Black African ethnics, and declared the Black race created in North America by progenitive English race and British ethnic deethnicizers of the multi-ethnic Africans not Native Americans (who made America) but Native Africans.

His theory projected the thesis that each race and ethnic subdominant group member of the one dominant race in the universe possesses a precious part whose utterly unique unit the whole requires to function efficiently and reach its full potential as a complete human organism, the hypothesis that the Black body is beautiful and of ultimate worth, and, therefore, his principle of positive connection between mutually fertile human groups required the permanent existence of these distinct people as mutually exclusive polar opposite poles for positive attraction rather than negative rejections: the exceptions to the accommodation for acculturation rule ruling out genetic amalgamation, assimilation, and cross-fertilization, to the contrary notwithstanding.

It followed in Kinmontesque logic and managed reality, but not in either White American life or Black American experience, that because descendants of Africans were chattel property they were pure and simple Africans and neither the genetic nor cultural kinsfolk of Europeans. Kinmont's logic outran the facts and figures when he posited as truth the transparent error in the arguments that argued that Black race-specific Americans and Black African multiethnic-specific groups are interchangeably one people; Black folk are the only people with a "natural talent for music," whose gift they developed in North America survived the original varieties of competing African ethnics' loss of their total African culture and gain of their partial European whole way of life; and the color caste/bondage class creation of nature and nurture revealed their world-class model for the universe in the New World to be their God-given nature "to serve."[220]

Evidently fewer secular and sacred Protestant elitists questioned than heard and heeded the Calvinist convert's Swedenborgian interpretation of the Christian faith: The state of grace is the status of Jesus Christ ("the truth" of the Godhead who is *agape*-love or Being Good and Right), approaching the state of grace is the goal for the true believer master (mistress) and slave faithful follower of the Master Servant Model, to be a servant is the first step toward the state of grace, and to be a servant is the state of the art of not only knowing but both being and doing the truth (the best known possible good and right). However, he reminded his hosts, White-ethnic indentured servitude far less than Black-race involuntary servitude (slavery) waylaid the servant idea and ideal, lay waste the servant status by reducing it to a low station beneath the White-ethnic lower-class, and diminished the potential of this wholly beautiful Black body form follows spiritual servant function.

Instead of the Americanization of values enveloping this Black beauty and holiness of spiritual power and glory, human bondage was instituted and whose dehumanization institutionalization involved systematic and systemic deprogramming of the pariah class.

Experts in this methodological deracination technique bid fair to make the Black body vanish without a trace and nearly erased the single source and sole universal supply of the vital spirituality *elixir vitae* humanity requires to enrich, enhance, and enlighten need the human condition. These continuously updated and increasingly technological sophisticated preemptive strikes, executed to eclipse the Black body, originated with the unsophisticated deployment of brute force to constrain the Black race in servile existence. Albeit less cruel, Kinmont averred, the current coercive techniques even more effectively restrict the capacity of the color caste/bondage class to contribute "the sweeter graces" of the "Christian religion" to humankind.

White race/ethnic groups had their pride and prejudice confirmed when Kinmont stated as fact the fiction, that, just as the Black race is comparatively endowed with a disproportionate spirituality capacity and a diminished mental capacity, just so contrapositively Anglo-Saxons are augmented by bestowed overplus rationality and nobility (genetically inherited virtue or good and right whose predominance corresponds to the relatively diminutive given to the Black race and therefore biologically and culturally transmitted by Black folk). Alternatively, the chiaroscurist informed the Anglo-Americans, Europeans are more "advanced" in the "Divine Science" (ratiocination) than Africans, whereas, complementarily, fine attunement with the theological virtues (faith, hope, and charity) is the cause of the leadership in "Divine beneficence" (servantry) of Black folk.

This rationalism and romanticism counterbalance of religious racialism, that Kinmont considered technically efficient and sufficient and generated from experience-limited premises and principles, was the mature application of the Kinmontian perception is reality theory and outcome of his moral-intensive dialectical cultural thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. The black and white Kinmontian chiaroscuro counterpoint turned out a Black-body and White-mind problem, produced indelible impressions compounded by clear and distinct consequential social implications, and ended with simple solutions to complex problems. The single answer to the multiform color caste/bondage issue resulted from the chiaroscurist's confusion of descriptive facts with value judgments, and positing a conclusion from whose implications inerrantly followed two critical (among many other) inferences inevitably drawn by contemporary critics of the Kinmontian perspective.

Compared to Chinese and Japanese (to say little of Oriental and Ethiopian Jews and Jews among other non-European) peoples, Kinmont portrayed Anglo-Saxons as the first, best, and only real masters of Western rationalism. Yet, in spite of asserting Anglo-Saxon Europeans' world-class mastery of scientific technology, empirical philosophy, and rational theology, Kinmont claimed logic-laced Westerners are limited in their human powers to making ratiocinative universal laws, principles, and rules and regulations. He maintained that the rationalization capacity Anglo-Saxons exercise to absolutize relative truth, and to relativize absolute reality, is the very faculty that demonstrates the different superiority and inferiority capabilities of Europeans and Africans.

He made his point succinctly: Unlike reason-exalting legalists such as Anglo-Saxons and other Europeans located within or beyond the Continent who make law (love law and law love), spirituality-sensitive Black folk at once coordinate rational Western philosophy (secular ideology) and Occidental theology (sectarian dogma), harmonize the relevant principles and practices of Puritan Piety with direct action in daily life, and make music whose secular and sacred spirituals

solidify universal soul songs (rather than systematic and systemic selective systems for the select).

In the midst of fashioning the Kinmontian vision, Kinmont revised Swedenborgianism and made a mid-course correction of the deceased founder's seventy-five year-old proclamation of the 1757 terrestrial arrival of the Second Coming of Christ. Synchronous with this announcement of the end of history and beginning of eternity, Emmanuel Swedenborg established his New Church which he decreed the medium of exchange for sacred and profane cultural elements, and instrument for the conversion of secular and religious history into a social redeeming force.

In the light of Swedenborg's miscalculation nearly four score years earlier, and the context of the Yale-centered continuous revision of Calvinism by followers of Nathaniel William Taylor's "New Haven Theology" like Lyman Beecher and other "New Light" and "New School" revisionist compeers, Kinmont published his revisions of the New Church high speed ethical linear progress railway paralleling the Underground Railroad lines as a scientific spiritual and social engineer with complete confidence in his ability to direct the hard and soft science-energized humanist faith locomotive off the deadhead onto the speed rails; seemed sanguine as he proceeded to engineer skillfully the New Church of Jerusalem as the appropriate train of thought on the right track of universal salvation; and elucidated for Cincinnatians the nature and meaning of Black folk revealed by Black Conductors and Passengers covert citizens disembarked at Cincinnati Underground Railroad Stations, whose collective conscience he identified with and determined to be neither the burden nor the bane but the hope of White folk.

He caught their attention as he directed the cultural elite to reflect upon the demanding principles and practices of the near-at-hand "millennial state," including being a servant of truly needy whether a slave or free inhabitant (Good Samaritan), engaged in securing the needs of each individual and community, and vessels of public good-expanding charity (the highest cardinal virtue). Kinmont anticipated requests for flesh and blood exemplars of his modern moral model, and shocked fewer members of the audience than he startled when he dramatically pronounced the Black body the manifest essence of being a servant and benevolent.

It was as surprising to some as it was obvious to him that Black folk constituted perfect "willingness to *serve*." Despite his subtle exegesis and superb eisegesis, the Scotch-Irish immigrant left unpersuaded the antislavery/proslavery neutrality-persuaded English race and British ethnic representatives of the American Protestant establishment, who heard the gospel according to Kinmont but thought something was lost in his translation of the proslavery Bible and Constitution whose legal statutes they interpreted as strict constructionists to enact and enforced the law and order mandating Black free and slave Americans to render total obedience to all White males and females in and out of power and authority.

THE LYMAN BEECHER FAMILY AND ALEXANDER KINMONT CONNECTION

Contemporary convoluted crisis converters who were conversant with the Christian chiaroscurist, and his comparative cultures conversion of the color cast of characters from a dysfunctional out-crowd to a functional in-crowd,

comprehended Kinmont's reasons of the heart and head upspringing from revelation and reason researches and ending in risk-riddled radical religion and race relations.

These peer-respected informed speculation specialists, who were trusted professionals because they enjoyed a reputation for keeping their hard evidence on the color caste/bondage class conditions current, also possessed the ability to distinguish between Kinmont's projected sincere intentions and serious consequences and his sincerely wrong conclusions drawn from a poor analysis and worse data base.

Consequently, the competitive consciences currently in conflict and committed to the direct opposite color-blind and color-conscious means to end color prejudice knew the speaking truth to power prophetic purpose and message, did not stone the messenger whether or not they like the method, and considered it reasonable in this context that the relevant facts or figures and values were neither summarily rejected out of hand nor of precious of little moment but relatively unimportant and absolutely beside the point Kinmont wished to make.

As he put it plainly: Black body beauty is the beautiful truth perforce the color free-caste/bond-cast servant class being, knowing, and doing benevolence, the charity criterion for church and civil class over caste constraints changers that makes a difference by commanding the called and chosen not to cut conscience to fit the fashionable or current consensus style and substance, and approaching the standard of service and sacrifice set by the Master Servant as servants of masters and mistresses and their Master by raising the servantry standards.

Whence from his rational romantic racialism precipice, resulting from the tension produced by reactionary and radical rationalists, Kinmont leaped from class over caste to caste over class and landed on the Black folk spiritual leadership of White folk slippery slope. He commenced to negotiate the treacherous benevolence ascent and descent angle by his racy and risky reach to reverse the rules, to rule the ruled rulers in reality, and to change Black beneficiaries to benefactors of White brutal benevolence brutes and beneficial beneficence befrienders.

Hence Kinmont challenged White Protestant professionals engaged in publicly professing their faith in Evangelical Millennialism, and declaring their primary purpose and function in their Yankee mission commissioned to complete the Puritan *Errand into the Wilderness* of the Northwest is to clear a space in Frontier hearts and the heartland for force of immanence and transcendence to surface.

Thus materializing as the visionary nexus of nerve and verve virtue, counterchecking the cultural elite nerds and nervous nellies, Kinmont set in shaky bases his Black race benevolent servant as the standard that eternity-seeking White benevolent paternalists must model and approach in history, if they are to welcome in civilization the on time extraterrestrial extension of eternal time and space through, over, and in time.

Precisely because of this Kinmontian fusion of sacred and secular science with spiritual signs and symbols, in which crucible the imperceptible advocacy of ASC adversaries was made conspicuous by the suspicious striking promotion of proponents of the ACS' indigenous North American Black race removal to Liberia principal principle and policy, it was not surprising that Colonizationists in Cincinnati like Lyman (Catherine and Harriet) Beecher embraced Kinmont when he compared the European and African cultures, asserted that Africa is

the "later but far nobler civilization," and charged Christianity and civility crusaders to champion African peoples.

He argued that the facts of the case against a self-serving and for an enlightened self-interest ethic argued the best interests of even the advocates of securing their real interests and values first and last (and foremost always) were served best by accepting the task-responsibility of ensuring that the Black Americans were respected, protected, and enabled to rise rapidly above dehumanization disadvantage to self-determination advantage.

His cost/benefit analysis calculated that the assets relative to the liabilities generated by the sacrifice of minimum income were so astronomical that only a fool would focus on minimizing the minor risk involved in the miniscule investment required to maximize major mutual interests, and miss the guaranteed outcome of enormous spiritual, economic, and political profits generated by middle-class moralists expanding rather than contracting the middle margins of power.

English Yankee Congregationalist and British Scotch-Irish Presbyterian litigious litigators, and constitutional lawyers of the church and civil contracts, grasped the nice nuance that turned on a fine point of law and direct connection to the original White Nationalist and originator of the White Nationalism that the ASC developed as the father of Black Nationalism.

Kinmont challenged clout-concentrated change and constancy compeers to turn from promoting the descendancy to accelerating the ascendancy of the color caste class; to measure the quality and quantity of benevolence by the speed with which charity chariots wheels of fortune reverse the fortunes and fund the factors facilitating the Black body to become the vanguard Samuel Hopkins envisioned would advance the foreign land and peoples from an undeveloped and underdeveloped through a developing into a developed Continent of Africa for Africans; and to believe that so far from their monetary assistance being either gifts of gold given by guileful guildsmen to gloss over their guiltiness or the deadly dangerous deterrence-benevolence funds critics claimed they were in fact profitable philanthropy enticing Black folk to give in "return the splendor of the Divine attributes of mercy and benevolence in the practice and exhibition of the milder and gentler virtues."[221]

What results from the Kinmontesque comparative in-class and outcaste criticism and conclusion is that Africa abides as the one and only correct climate and country for the color caste class climate and culture. Whence the British ethnic intellectual's posited "Africanized" nature and function of American Black folk, and meaning of rational and romantic religious racialism, was a fashionable interpretation that fascinated English-race Puritan admirers like Connecticut Yankee Lyman Beecher and his elitist daughters: whether or not, in regard to the America for White race/ethnic Europeans and Africa for Africans majority rule and relative to tolerable standard deviations from this Protestant establishment norm, they considered the innovative Kinmontian construct a positive exception that neither tested nor overturned but confirmed the rule.

In spite of different purposes and consequences, the more obscure than unreal "back to Africa" common intentions intertied Kinmontian British ethnic and Beecherite English race representatives in North America. While it is arguable that since the cultural determiners who cultivated these church and civil culture caste customs claimed they were not intentional racists they were not or could not be fairly accused of being conscious racists, and that they executed their rights and a rational choice when they elected to be intentionalists and not to be consequentialists, the church and civil lawyers denied legal responsibility and

accountability (no less than liability and culpability) for their great promise and poor performance of their intentions, and the consequences of their rational thoughts and actions. If they were not rational racists the realist rationalists were legalists, and as private and parochial litigators they rationalized and institutionalized the racism they denied.

Kinmontian Western and Beecherite Eastern casts cast in concrete color caste chances, and their culture-specific stronger bonds than binds of change as constancy in the body politic were secure enough to expand and contract alternately the intensification of the continuously developing crises in credibility and confidence.

One noteworthy paradox in this center of moral parody and parity was the conversion of George Beecher, patriarch Beecher's clergyman son, from the antiabolitionism favored by the paterfamilias to the proabolitionism the Colonizationist considered Union-destabilizing Un-Americanism. George Beecher's transubstan-tiation, that his progressive transformationist father called an error and his antiabolitionist elder sister Catherine (with whom his younger sister Harriet shared values and power principles) considered a mistake, transpired in the moment Kinmont was lecturing in Cincinnati to Beecher family and other Eastern cultural elitists.

Many more personal tragedies and public crises in conscience would have to break forth in the civil order before benevolence-deterrence paternalists in the Beecher ménage could graduate from malign to benign neglect of pro-Black race interests.

Lyman Beecher subsequently stepped from the Cincinnati to Kentucky side of slaveholding boundary line, where he honored his lecture commitment and delivered a strong defense of Colonizationism defense to the Kentuckians. This essay was an effort to counter the growing Southern resistance to New Abolitionism, and the resistless slavocracy expansion in the 1830s. Beecher practiced his principles as a public servant, and as vigorously as William Ellery Channing reacted as if his sensibilities were offended by Beecher's proslavocrat positive permissiveness of the "peculiar institution" that revolved around a reinvigorated projection of the color caste/bondage class as a Black body good for nothing but mental and menial slavery.

Synchronously, anti-Calvinist Channing in Boston and pro-Calvinist Beecher in Cincinnati were theological liberals in their competing traditions who shared values social conservatives.

COLOR CONTRASTS OF CHIAROSCURISTS

WILLIAM CHANNING AND ALEXANDER KINMONT

They appeared the nearest Yankee Puritans came to clerical patricians partly because they mutually embraced (if not each other then) antiabolitionism and pro-gradualism. Clearly unsurpassed as the leaders of the power Protestant and cultural elite in the East and the West, the apolitical moral idealists and anti-immediatists publicly proclaimed proudly their ethical and legal, political and economic, and educational and social conservatism.

Two years after Kinmont died in Cincinnati, and one year before his Swedenborgian *Twelve Lectures on the Natural History of Man* were posthumously published, Channing carefully bracketed Kinmont's rational-mystical Millennialism--and constructively engaged the Scotch-Irish immigrant's romanticism--when the English/Puritan race-representative in his role as a Unitarian public servant

cited approvingly the British ethnic in his book that passed for the American mind and the Protestant *Emancipation* (1849) Proclamation.

Channing, the model modern moralist moderate, broached the major moral matter of his age in this important monograph but majored in minor measures, monitored mediocrity in this masterpiece of anti-immediatism and pro-gradualism propaganda, and muddled through the middle as he interlaced cautious complementary criticisms and compliments of the ACS in this masterful piece of antislavery and antiabolitionist prose.

Approaching the ASC as a mission impossible, enjoying unexpected greater success than failure given its undue merit, he argued that Colonizationism was neither demonstrable error requiring serious correction nor truth demanding universal promotion but a conservative Christian crusade unable to reach its goal because its objective defies common sense, its denationalization basic premise is faulty and its deportation principal principle is flawed, its economic means justifies the political end suffers from insufficient monetary resources and an ineffective fiscal policy, and its limits are intrinsic to its extrinsic self-inflicted profitable philanthropy fundamental purpose along with its operation that is designed to minimize cost and maximize efficiency which result in the organization being a better business of business than business of religion institution.

Channing understood the ACS to reach the quickening stage in the womb one inexplicably conscious cost-cautious fetus but to be permanently unconscious after birth of being brain dead on arrival. He explained the irony of the paradoxical phenomenon, in the process of explicating the reasons for its life after death, which he knew to originate with Protestant professionals who were persuaded their persuasions were irresistible moral incentives; unpersuaded by the facts and figures published daily proving they had created a disincentives-rife organism; and unconvinced by the total opposition of the polar opposite slavocrats and color caste and bondage classes who were strange bedfellows sharing the conviction that their similar true and dissimilar real interests were not respected by the Colonizationists. Together with his fully developed appreciation of the fact that the Southern slavocracy opposed the real intentions of the soldiers in the ASC salvation army less rigorously and vigorously than Northern proslavocrats resisted their ACS' ultimate consequences (deportation of their chattel property real interests), and uncandor in avoiding clarification and leaving beneath layers of obscuration whether or not he adjudged the ASC to be a deterrence-benevolence bureaucracy, Channing concluded the Colonization color caste class mission was cost-prohibitive.

But Channing was himself unprepared to admit the truth: his *Emancipation* plan matched the Colonization program for being the most unworkable antislavery process ever invented by a powerhouse Puritan public ethicist. Channing's Protestant *Emancipation* proclamation set the precedent for the civil Proclamation President Abraham Lincoln issued twenty-five years later.

Channing remained a middle-class morality, respectability, and law and order elitist. As a dyed-in-the-wool liberal moderate, he managed misdirection by setting conscience above the Constitution and calling on Christian slaveowners to break the slavocracy law prohibiting private manumission of color chattel.

It is a moot point whether Channing indeed believed himself above the law--the law of justice or the jungle enacted and enforced by the slavocrats, establishing the legitimacy of the slavocracy and granting the government final control of private property by virtue of an arbitrary statute that rendered null and

void positive right rule and rules by being a spacious violent violation of the basic reasonable standard of rational law--or whether having repudiated the lawless mobocrats he was conscious of demanding that the law abiding become lawbreakers.

Be that as it may Channing's pontifications appealed to each Protestant slaveholder to emancipate his slaves on his own individual authority, or failing that to improve their educational, family, and religious life. The unrealistic idea that slavocrats would sacrifice their real interests to the Channingesque principle was a counsel of perfection matching the perfectionism advice of the pro-Calvinist Millennarians the anti-Calvinist claimed made more solid sound than sense.

Channing's press for the perfect in an imperfect society also was a singular ideal that middle-class morality protectionists, and moralists disengaging political realism and engaging unadulterated moral idealism, could insist upon and persistently hurl flat in the teeth of the facts and figures New Abolitionist researchers and analysts consistently amassed; published for validation by professional investigators; and disseminated widely whereby any citizen could perform personal empirical verification as well as the independent-minded objective individual.[222]

After Kinmont's transatlantic flight from the British Isles and transmigration from the East to the West but before the transmigrant settled in Cincinnati, in a new world pervaded by Enlightenment-excited awareness of a universe governed by nature's law of alternation and universal law of natural rights and right, the dynamic duo combination of his lively mind over matter and money physical body and spiritual soul--energized by the attraction of opposite mental and moral faculties--enabled his curious intellect to discover transplanted in the American culture the European Continent-propagated seeds of African romanticism.

Moving from an all-white race country and state of mind to a land of multicolored (black, brown, red, white, and yellow) peoples and nation of multiform (Black, Brown, Red, White, and Yellow) races, Kinmont was, by turns, neither frustrated nor frightened but exhilarated by the dramatic racial differences, startled by the choice of color complementaries or collisions and election by the contrary cultures of conflict and confrontation rather than creative competition and cooperation, and initially surprised but subsequently shocked into becoming a cultural conciliation conscience by his divisiveness-exporting fellow White ethnic masses who found race differences and divisions either an invitation to exploitation divide and conquer opportunists could not refuse or not an opportunity for human enrichment but a problem the threatened feared and turned terrorists who struck more than terror in the hearts of fierce Native American Indian and Black friends and foes.

Attracted to the seeds and roots of rational romantic racialism by its shoots and flowers, blooming brightly in unity and forming the sharpest contrast imaginable amid fields full of weeds of dissension, the investigative and experimental mind dissected and recombined the propagation until the experimentalist produced a secular and religious hybrid he planted, picked, packaged, and promoted to be procured in the moral market as the perfect counteract of the human experimentation "peculiar institution" overriding the American experiment in better living.

The exciting experimentations generated by the productive producer of principles for all peoples to practice were transplants produced primarily by intel-

lectuals in hot houses, where the cross-fertilized primitive and pristine exotic multi-colored plants were planted in special beds and forced into bloom by artificial heat and light, or structured in ivory towers and developed by academics who concentrated the mind as they concentrated on cultivating cerebral culture in relative insolation and isolation from the concentration camps citizens established for Black Americans.

Synchronously oriented towards the winds of change blowing the hotbed-germinated rational racial romanticism germ from Europe, and dispersing the fertile and fervid fern-seed across the American landscape, Channing was perfectly positioned--as he worked laboriously in his sequestered and segregated study nearby the Boston port from the New England vantage point to secure the advantage of the sacred and profane establishment circles of power--to catch as a religious humanitarian the color caste cultivations secular humanist cults cast on the Continent and to broadcast them throughout the Northeast and Southeast.

Perchance the romantic African germinations European rationalists spawned were more superfluous than specious or spurious natural nature and nurture factors fertilizing the anti-Black race values heart of the North American soul. But they ultimately landed in the hard soil tilled for cotton by the productive slaves planters purchased to make their plantations produce wealth, and the agrarian economy of the antebellum slavocracy controlled by cooperating secular and religious Northern proslavocrats (industrial capitalism industrialists and investment bankers) and Southern slavocrat plantation nonpareil owners of producers, products, and production.

Rational secularists and Evangelicals were aggressive slaveholders who entered the race for race rationalizations and met the competition, as they promptly developed these color-specific figments of European and Northeastern imaginations in their Southern Way of Life: whose culture, that Southern culture determiner proclaimed theory and experience balanced reality, turned on the utilitarian function of color chattel property, and the instrumental value of Black females (highly prized as breeders of invaluable property by slavemarketeers) whom White males embraced in close encounters of the third kind and intimate relations of nearly every public, parochial, and private kind.

Channing was a Yankee master of the New England school of design for living in a dynamically integrated secular and religious ethical culture. The system was structured and shaped by intellectuals whose idea of ideal existence entailed practicing the natural principles in relation to the morals and manners they fashioned as moral images to be imitated, yet did not consider this great man governance rule reverence for idols as a rule or themselves idols idealizing idolatrous worship but heroes and heroines for heretics to properly hold before them as mirrors by which to model and monitor personal performance.

This elitist theory and experience defined reality as realizable truth in the human condition, wherein, on a par with the imaginative art fields, a creative life form follows function and imitates nature. Channing distinguished himself from the Boston moral and cultural artists by extending his inventive ruling class Christianity and civility creations to induce civil change and constancy in the crisis-fractured infrastructure and superstructure.

Channing soared as the major Protestant professor of pure reason-realized Yankee-Puritan linear progress, ever-expanding productivity, limitless economic prosperity, and continuous public peace without political power achieved through moral strength and social stability.

Pursuant to his public service goal, the Boston public ethicist demonstrated no minor interest in marketing or mean marketing ability as the master moralist and marketeer marketed successfully in the public sector his private and parochial moral values, and essayed unsuccessfully to corner the national ethics market. He managed to market his public ethics as a social conscience theory of relativity, and to promote its fairness doctrine that contained the operative equal effect clause which posited as an axiom the principle that the dehumanization intentions and consequences of Northern anti-Black race interests-specific church and state segregation (ecclesiastical and civil discrimination) and Southern human bondage are essentially identical, their different means and ends to the contrary notwithstanding.

The national treasure made his point stick by publishing the facts that argued that American standard anti-Black race values are embraced as national virtues rather than vices, there exists collective guilt (or innocence) and many killers of the American dream (Union of not opposites but parallel Protestant gentlemen who demonstrate reasonable men can differ amicably but not Black and White males since they are opposites which never attract and always repel) who are guilty, and terrorists thrive who are dreamers of the kill and deny their will to prevail springs from an illusion of grandeur. Channing was convinced that the error of proterrorists was exceeded only by the fantasy of positive and constructive rational, rapid, radical structural social change New Abolitionist social redeemers preferred to reality.

Yet in being a less bold Puritan than Unitarian clergyman Theodore Parker--his younger contemporary whom Protestant establishmentarians dismissed as a brash young Yankee--Channing did not deviate so sharply from the ethical-religious and moral-secular norm of love and justice (and standard of human equality and fairness) so as to lose all tension with one great certainty and reality: The origin, development, and expansion of the American nature, meaning, and function of the anti-Black race interests principle survives as pro-White race/ethnic virtue; evil and error to be either erased or corrected by the moral individual and community; and a collective responsibility for each resident of the nation to reverse everywhere and always at once, over time, through time, and in time.

Antiabolitionist Channing unquestionably contributed a greater defense to slavocrats than they deserved, and in stoning proabolitionist prophets because he did not like their task-responsibility message (immediate and universal unconditional abolition) attributed to them less value than they earned. But whether or not his anti-Black race interest principles manipulated policy so effectively as to produce seeds of dissension, that sprouted in succeeding generations, may be arguable. One matter of importance that is no less beyond dispute than his productive life is pertinent: Channing's his lasting value did not extend to impeding the progressive movement from benign to malign anti-Black race indifference in the antebellum and postbellum South, which, as a rational process of intellectual development, he claimed was matched if not surpassed in the North prior to the twentieth century.

Channing was gaining moral momentum just as he entered the irreversible stages of death and dying in the mid-1840s. Before Northerners added sophistication to rare and rough Southern justice, and their legalized injustice passing as free and fair play appeared a difference that made no difference to the victims of state terrorism, the tender as the night Black body was escalated into a rational burden of proof of the White Man's Burden by the no less arbitrary for

being logical positivists.

In this intensified vulnerable condition, the disadvantaged were simultaneously elevated in the civil consciousness, ridiculed, accused of indecent public exposure, and charged a user's fee for human existence.

Just before he died, Channing protested plight of the poor Colored people who were declining in significance as objects of curiosity, and inclining in importance as an inescapable presence demanding liberty from citizens, who, preferring the pleasure of conspicuous consumption to the pain of deliverance, searched for and found it easy to accept the "back to Africa" final solution and simple way to meet the complex self-determination upon demand. Channing's color caste Christian contemporaries constituted in his mind a race of victims with few beneficiaries and benefactors.

They became the cause and effect of his public service and civil ethical tendinitis as acutely as the color caste/bondage class excited the parallel perilous *Achilles heel* paralyzing the moral force of the equally powerful Waldo Emerson: who, with more poetry than logic in his later prose, represented Black people as paragons of native grace in rhythm, appeared determined to freeze them in this state of beauty and affordable splendiforous suspension of the ethical and to prefer this choice to the alternative viable option that entailed engaging in direct action to secure their deliverance, and crystallized the Channingesque rational and romantic religious racialism.

Before Emerson's consciousness was heightened after the death of his elder clerical brother, Channing surfaced as a co-efficient anti-immediatist and anti-Colonizationist anti-Calvinist who struggled to convert the Evangelicalism-pervasive slavocracy to his middle-of-the-road antislavery path (between proabolitionism and antiabolitionism) of pro-gradualism, at the end of his new beginning which turned out to be the beginning of his end as certainly he was repudiated by the antislavocracy-proslavocracy neutral establishment in Boston for being too aggressive a progressive transformationist; a status quo destabilizationist; a poor protectionist of the real interests investments of industrialists in the slavocracy; and peace-breaker rather than peacemaker (if not also a lawbreaker).

This lesson in power and prejudice delivered by the Yankees, who were the glory of historic Puritan anti-Black race interests as certainly they fueled and denied their ethical pyrotechnics, was an equally regrettable and unforgettable demonstration of preferred real interests and values. Emerson played with this political fire, in which Channing received second degree burns and the color caste Congregationalists were either consumed or charred, and may have learned to appreciate the flames leaping from the conflagration Congregationalists lit and fanned sufficiently well to negotiate his escape from being eclipsed by the intensity and density of their anti-Black race values-specific extensity.

Alexander Kinmont, near the end of Channing's life and his own, located in Cincinnati--the Calvinist "city on a hill" in the West and the slippery slope above the boundary line dividing the free-state of Ohio from the slave-state of Kentucky. In this metropolis he chose to lecture Ohioans, and was encouraged by his favorable reception to reside permanently in this cultural center of the West.

Kinmont was attracted to America by prospects of the political economy prospects, and from Pennsylvania to Ohio by Cincinnati's future promise in the land of opportunity for a man of earth and God. He relocated fully aware that the Ohio center of commerce was situated at the crossroads of current and

former slavemasters and slaves; Northern and Southern secular and religious immigrants and emigrants; rival revivalists competing with liberal and conservative Evangelical and traditionalist Protestants as proselytizing sectarians; and Eastern proletarian and establishmentarian men and women of less grand designs and more mundane schemes.

HARRIET BEECHER-STOWE'S BLACK FOLK PROBLEM AND FINAL SOLUTION

Lyman Beecher and his second wife (Harriet Porter) moved West to establish Lane Theological Seminary with most of their four daughters and seven sons. Their Cincinnati domicile became the home of Harriet Beecher, who migrated from Hartford, Connecticut with her sister Catherine: a developer of private schools in whose Connecticut private academy Harriet first studied, subsequently taught, and finally relocated.

Four years after her arrival, Harriet married (in 1836) father's solid friend and professor: Calvin Ellis Stowe. During her seventeen years in Cincinnati, Harriet taught with her elder (by eleven years) sister (and lucid writer) Catherine, developed independently her talents as a gifted writer, and emerged a skilled craftsman of the fine art of fiction.

Shortly after their relocation, thirty-four year-old Catherine expounded her father's antiabolitionist gospel of American Colonizationism and gradualism. This exercise occurred in her role as his surrogate both in the 1834 Lane Seminary Debate of the antislavery/proslavery policy and later in her brilliant 1837 *Essay*. In these elitist endeavors, Catherine revealed her total opposition to advancing the real and best interests of Black Americans.

Her chief opponent in the Lane Debate was thirty-one year-old Theodore Dwight Weld, the proabolitionist student leader among the theologues, whose victory turned the students into a near-unanimous body of New Abolitionist crusaders. The nonviolent and nonpartisan Lane rebels formed a body of passive resistance, as they protested peacefully but forcefully the anti-immediatist authority of President Lyman Beecher. And, as the first Lane Seminary class, in the first month of the second fall term the student body (numbering ninety odd seminarians) withdrew orderly almost to a man.

Some years later Harriet and Ellis Stowe aided a fugitive from Kentucky (a daily mission for Black and White Underground Railroad Agents), and revealed her credentials as a consistent antislavery moderate were not the *bona fides* of a New Abolitionist radical. Like her father and sister, she was no less profoundly impacted if differently impressed by the eighteen-day Lane Debate that she experienced as a spectator.

Similarly, whether she first heard or read Kinmont's lectures, the chiaroscurist's high caste/bondage ideas appeared as her double bottom line at the apex and end of *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly*, her watershed work for Northern White-race/ethnic antislavery moderates, where they took form and function in the color and shape of her idealized figures. Compeer antebellum gradualists placed nothing so much as distance between themselves and Black-race immediatists--whom they were committed to move out rather than in and up the competitive culture--identified their antiabolition means and colonization ends by defining themselves antiabolitionists unalterably opposed to proabolitionists; and distinguished themselves most sharply from authentic New Abolitionists.

This was not a difficult distinction but one made easy by the proabolitionists, whose original commitment turned on total dedication to abolishing simultaneously or successively slavery and anti-Black race values instantly, unconditionally, and universally, was articulated clearly during the 1833 formal inauguration ceremonies of the AAS and its subsidary Lane Seminary Anti-Slavery Society. The express creed and deed criteria of New Abolitionism Beecher-Stowe and the enthralled majority who read her novel were rejected out-of-hand at its publication date (1852)--no less flatly than the ethical principles New Abolitionists promoted were dismissed by future Presidents Buchanan and Lincoln--or as solidly as their 1856-1865 Republican Administrations enforced their program translated into a national antislavery/proslavery policy.

It comes as no surprise to discover in the age of White (not Black) female feminization and Black (not White) male demasculinization that the feminized Black man (Uncle Tom) the masculinized White woman (Aunt Harriet) created less in her own image the shallow shadow of pale significance compared and subordinate to the White man (English race master and British ethnic overseer) and White woman (slavemistress), surfaced as a weak-kneed imbecile of diminished power (political and economic as well as legal and moral) whose presence as the absence of force surged beneath contempt and the inspiring Black woman (Eva) not only towering above but soaring as a stupid African child-mother relative to the strong European earth-mother.

These presumed generalizable and universalizable as well as universally empirically verifiable images left the imagination, an indelible impression, the region of her mind and state of benevolence, the states of malevolence, and the country and Continents. The bottommost beings bounced boundlessly and bootlessly from the vision of the more bountiful than beautiful lady, whose bounty in the appearances of the appreciative apperceptive bordered on a leap from being rather than (as her host of admirers everywhere always avowed) a leap in being. Naturally the dancing figures in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* figuratively and literally danced in and from her head, on the pages, and the hearts of the seriously sincere antiterrorist as well as proterrorist readers dancing on the graves of their booby trapped and *bona fide* Black brethren, buried burdens, and bones of contention.

Whence the pertinent positive correlation between Waldo Emerson and Harriet Beecher Stowe may be far less obvious than it appears scarcely surprising for social ethics specialists in comparative American Civil Religion and Christian social ethics, and the secular and sacred students of systematic social segregation systems systematizers.

Just as Emerson, the compeer of William Channing as an anti-Calvinist Congregationalist and Yankee Unitarian clergyman, turned the color caste/bondage class into a pure black and blue body of rhythm and blues as sharply he turned to rational Intuitionism to turn the Puritan tradition of mystical and mysterious Millennialism inside out and upside down, just so paradoxically Beecher-Stowe, the pro-Calvinist daughter of Presbyterian presbyter Lyman Beecher and spouse of Congregationalist clergyman Calvin Stowe, turned to unite white magic (rationalism) and black magic (experience) with the negative-good power overriding the positive-good power pole of the saints' bequeathed antiblack white-ethnic virtue to advance in myth and mystery the Calvinist-Puritan/Yankee double damnation dogma perforce the double jeopardy of positive negation and predesigning their Black male and female progenies (and her cultural kith and kin by definition) to dance eternally out of history and in eternity.

The great White Hope and Hunger v. Black Hopeless and Homeless Hungry were the pithy powerful and pithless powerless characters chiaroscurist Beecher-Stowe encountered in history and current culture, drew to scale from personal research and the experiences of peers as a rationalist naturalist and romanticist in her picture perfect art imitates life work that advanced the genre, and pit against one another as Beecher-Stowe bid fair to out-Emerson Emerson in a novel whereby the Beecheresque truth stranger than fiction reversed the Emerson fiction stranger than truth artistic and intellectual re-revisionism of Puritanism.

Beecher-Stowe's Black figures fixed in the racial romance initially formed in the Connecticut Yankee's mind and experience in the West, and took final shape in the East where it was finely honed and highly polished, before being completed in Maine and published in Boston. Following the move of Calvin and Harriet Stowe from Lane Seminary to Bowdoin College in 1850, her manuscript was first serialized (during 1851 and 1852) in the *National Era*, a Washington D. C.-published antislavery journal of opinion. James Gillespie Birney, onetime slavemaster turned New Abolitionist radical and current liberal turned conservative moderate, commenced to publish and edit the *National Era* (1847) after he became an invalid that year, following his unsuccessful races in the national elections of 1840 and 1844 as the Presidential Candidate of the Liberty Party.

Birney was an odd and even peculiar sometime theological and ethical foe who remained a firm friend of Lyman Beecher (and his nemesises Arthur Tappan and Theodore Weld). His semi-immobilizing handicap led him to leave Ohio, and fold the *Philanthropist* (1836-46), the liberal antislavery paper he founded and edited in Cincinnati. However, his physical disadvantage did not restrict him entirely to the confines of his Eagleswood Community home, in Perth Amboy, New Jersey: nearby the neighborhood where Theodore Weld, the retired New Abolitionist leader (effectively since 1843), resided with his wife, Angelina Grimké-Weld, and sister-in-law, Sarah Grimké.

Uncle Tom's Cabin was published as a book in Boston, during the year that Calvin Stowe was appointed Professor of Sacred Literature (1852-64) at Andover Theological School (in Andover, Massachusetts).[223] In this romance, Beecher-Stowe disclosed her views of superior White people--"the hard and dominant Anglo-Saxon race"--and inferior Black people: "their gentleness, their lowly docility of heart, their aptitude to repose on a superior mind and rest on a higher power, their childlike simplicity of affection, and facility of forgiveness," all of which, she asserted, will eventually produce the "peculiarly Christian life." In this novel Yankee variation of an historic English Morality Play, the Lincolnesque antiabolitionist concluded with a clarion call for Protestant Evangelicals, and friends of humanity, to engage in the tandem operation of manumitting human bondage and deporting free and indigenous North American Black people to Africa:[224]

> Let the Church of the North receive these poor sufferers in the spirit of Christ; receive them to the educating advantages of Christian republican society and schools, until they have attained to somewhat of a moral and intellectual maturity, and then assist them in their passage to those shores, where they may put into practice the lesson they have learned in America.[225]

One lesson that was entirely lost on Beecher-Stowe was the classic instruc-

tion Weld delivered to Lane Seminary, during the tenure of President Lyman Beecher in 1834, not to mention the subsequent debate enjoining Catherine Esther Beecher and Angelina Grimké-Weld in their published monographs--let alone the thousands of counterindoctrinating theses.

With the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* emerged the fulfillment and vindication of the ASC--albeit revitalized and reembodied by the master revisionist as the realistic ultimate solution to the White race demand for the exclusion of the Black race and the Black race demand for inclusion--apposite the Society's body, mind, and soul superimpregnation and superphysical relocation program.

Beecher-Stowe's superaddition effectively superseded the Black race obsolescence supplication that her Presbyterian father (her antislavery/antiabolitionist moral model) led Congregationalists to affirm as a superexcellent supernational work of supererogation.

Demonstrable deterrence-benevolence in spirit and substance, the ASC and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* argued their good intentions translated good consequences for their common objective subject and subjective objective, affected the means and ends of the missionaries and ministers on the Frontier, and the method and message of messengers to the freedmen in the South during Reconstruction.

These circumvention rather than competition condoning churchmen in their charity chariots, extended in post-Reconstruction the whole logical expediency tradition of social conservative rationalization forming the internal and external dynamics of Puritan-Yankee Orthodoxy.

The energized anti-Black race interest principles and principals advanced in a cyclically recurring continuum from Cotton Mather, the original Calvinist revisionist and authentic Puritan Piety standardbearer, through genuine Puritan Piety deconstructionist and Halfway Piety constructionist Jonathan Edwards--and Halfway Piety and Puritan Piety reconstructionist Samuel Hopkins--to Halfway Piety and puritanical moralisms re-revisionists Theodore Dwight and Lyman Beecher, the father and son of puritanical hypocrisy who were never without the spirit of legions.

JAMES BIRNEY'S REVERSION TO PROCOLONIZATIONISM AND REVERSAL OF ORIGINAL PROABOLITIONIST VALUES

Kentucky lawyer and New York politician James Birney, whom Theodore Weld led in the 1830s to rise above his proslavery propensity along with many other men in the West and some in the South, graduated from a slavemaster to an antislavery moderate--in which compromising posture he accepted an agency for the ACS--and then converted to proabolitionism.

As a pro-immediatism apostle in Cincinnati, Birney initially served as a covert agent and then as corresponding secretary (1837-40) of the New Abolitionists' AAS. When it suffered a schism in 1840 he joined two New York-centered organizations, the parochial/private AFAS and public Liberty Party. Birney and philanthropist Gerrit Smith, his fellow former Presbyterian churchman, united to become the two principal organizers of the Liberty Party. If not the precipitating cause, Birney was more than a contributing factor--and arguably the principal special agent--in the partisan party power politics New York wing of the AAS.

Earlier in Cincinnati, Birney often disagreed violently and publicly with Lyman Beecher, and sometimes privately. The most notable instance of the latter transpired when the observant Evangelical Presbyterian published anonymously

his sectarian muckraking exposé of Protestant puritanical hypocrisy, *The American Churches, The Bulwarks of America Slavery* (1840).

While allied with Beecher in the Presbyterian "New School" General Assembly polity, Birney differed with Beecher's antiabolitionist and pro-Colonizationist Reformed theology, ecclesiastical pro-gradualism policy, and party politics. But the warm Beecher patrician and Birney aristocrat silk ties withstood the severe stresses and strains produced by the fast and loose tension of their parochial-private-public bonds. Their enduring contracting and expanding relationship as theological liberals and social conservatives--who self-styled themselves private liberationists and parochial redeemers rather than either public enemies or progressive standpattism models--was as obscure before 1847 as it was patently plain and present in his serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which successful print media venture accelerated its publication as a book.

Birney's reversion to pro-Colonizationism occurred at the height of the furor over the Fugitive Slave Act (1850). This piece of legislation, disclosing anti-Black race interest as the national policy, was demonstrable dehumanization, legalized injustice, and immorality. The law seemed particularly obscene and pernicious supersaturation of states' rights rules, because the superintendency of this supplantation of elementary human and civil rights and liberties was administered by the law-enacting, law-interpreting, and law-enforcing Three Branches of the Federal Government. These legitimate authorities' callous logic and insensitivity, combined with New Abolitionists' sympathy and empathy for the vulnerable but risk-preferred runaways to whom they extended as much mercy as charity, excited even status quo and stabilizing and security-conscious traditionalists in the North to question and defy the Fugitive Slave Law.

Beecher-Stowe was credited for exercising leadership when she innovatively searched, found, and followed consensus that led her as conventional wisdom to divorce theory from experience, to project the Black body as the White Man's Burden and a threat to his preferred pursuit of happiness, and to call this centrist rationalization of real interests and values the new reality. This updated progressive transformationist process, which was effective because it consisted of forages into fantasies and fancies in which imaginative sentimental journeys spiritualists (Millennialists) and materialists (romanticists) were specialists and generalists, proved a masterpiece of misdirection that successfully distracted the middle-class from positive thinking about accepting their known Black kith and kin rather than rejecting their color caste cultural cousins as if they were the unknown supernatural entity.

Beecher-Stowe demonstrated more talent for discovering and following than for leading the consensus, the courage of other Protestant preceptors' convictions, and a penchant for joining the chic elite in-crowd. This evincement occurred unmistakably in Cincinnati, where Harriet and Calvin Stowe abandoned the traditional code of honor and appeared traitors to their White-race/ethnic class but in actuality enlarged rather than broke the circle of conformity, when they violated the Federal Fugitive Slave Law to secure the liberty of a runaway.

Contrariwise, in Boston (near-by Andover where Beecher-Stowe in had recently relocated), the Fugitive Slave Act thrust into high gear Theodore Parker's heightened consciousness, higher conscience, common sense, and courage of his pro-Black race interests convictions. Parker also affirmed his belief in the superiority of the English/Puritan-Yankee race, and inferiority of the Black race, yet the radical Christian ethicist did not allow his private persuasion to

interfere with his persistent practice of his principles in public. In his posture as a public ethicist, he acted to deliver the elementary prerequisites Black folk required to gain equal access to opportunity in the political economy, civil rights and civil liberties, and civil responsibilities in the United States.

Contradistinguishingly, James Birney was among the first citizens to read pre-book and manuscript form *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. He accepted its maternalistic variation on the paternalistic theme of monism and hyperexclusivity for minor key Black folk, and pluralism and egalitarianism for major key White folk. Straightaway, after completing its "back to Africa" final solution, Birney addressed (in 1851) an audience in Cincinnati ostensibly composed of *Uncle Tom's Children*. He concluded his public lecture, that revolved around an *Examination* of another anti-Black race interest-specific Supreme Court decision, *With an Address to the Free Colored People, Advising Them to Remove to Liberia* (1851). Engaged in the positive negation alternately of good and evil, Birney succeed in his determination to be anything but a failure to communicate. This achievement was less the cause of his forsaking the moderate style to which he had become accustom than the effect of his reversion to his true conservative nature.[226]

Northern "New School" Presbyterian and "New Light" Congregationalist Denominations persisted in this ASC mode through the period of the confluence of Presbyterians Birney in Washington, D.C., Beecher-Stowe in Boston, and the Reverend William Henry Ruffner (1824-1908) in Philadelphia--whose promotion of the "back to Africa" was published for the public as *Africa's Redemption: A Discourse on African Colonization* (1852).[227]

To tell the truth, Birney neither ventured for gain nor anticipated the unexpected phenomenal success but took a risk in his collaboration with Beecher-Stowe and 1851-52 serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Motivated by Evangelical Millennarianism-intensive Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethics, the innovative introduction of a novel serial in the *National Era* was a risk calculated to revitalize the "back to Africa" promise and performance of the ACS. Fear of civil war reached epic proportions with the divisions among even the establishmentarians in the aftermath of the Fugitive Slave Act. Still, the Beecher-Stowe and Birney final solution was published precisely in the moment when Black and White New Abolitionists, in harness with Northern antislavocrats of all persuasions, had relegated the ASC to a status quo stabilization party and parochial fetish for sectarians.

While the destabilization AAS and AFAS struggled against great odds and survived as diminished capacity divisions long after the premature announcement of their demise, the neither dead nor buried but effectively cost-prohibitive ACS remained operational: essentially because bureaucracies seldom fade away with deliberate speed, institutions like traditions die hard, and the ACS was engaged in honoring its prior political and economic commitments to Liberia with greater real interest than disinterested will to the good of Liberians.

Moreover, the ACS' controversial cause and effect produced the ebb and flow of a statistically significant minority population of Black Colonizationists (predominantly directed by White folk) and Black Emigrationists (preponderantly self-determined churchmen supported by independent Black Denominations), who, relative to the ACS-precipitated Protestant White Nationalists at the helm of the Evangelical World Alliance of Denominations and Protestant Black Nationalists (adopting and adapting with different intentions and purposes as well as consequences the White American theme of Black Africa for the Black Africans by revising the ACS's coordinates nearly beyond recognition), were responding

to the recurring cyclical crises created by anti-Black race interest policies; the Fugitive Slave Acts; and the steadily rising curves of cruel hoaxes perpetrated by White ethnic terrorists (tolerated by the antiterrorist White race representatives who limited their anti-Black race values to subtle rationalizations and sophisticated organizations).

Revitalized Colonizationism (if not ACS)--distinguished from the extra-ecclesiastical and quasi-public private/parochial ACS by being advanced exclusively within Denominational institutions as sectarian policy-- surfaced and surged with the emotional waves generated by Fugitive Slave Law-excited establishmentarians, and bearing the powerhouses' great fear of losing security and gaining insecurity and unsecurity.

The threat of experiencing a reversal in fortune was intensified by the force of the high tide of status quo pride, and preference for White order over Black liberty, and produced the high anxiety of the establishment Congregational and Presbyterian Churches.

One consequence of these intentionalists is as evident as the approval of the power elite: Representative Protestant voices--from Lyman Beecher's ASC (beginning with its December-1816--January-1817 formation) to Beecher-Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*--clearly reflected accurately, rather more precisely than they either deflected or corrected, the antiabolitionist/pro-Colonizationist continuum and views of the mainstream Denominational leaders.

When the Congregationalist minority of gradualism adversaries amid the majority of gradualism advocates formed (six years before Beecher-Stowe published her powerful prose piece) the A.M.A. as the antislavery agency of the Denomination, and was finally motivated to embrace "immediate emancipation," the four decades-long ties of the plurality of Congregationalist traditionalists to the ACS were not severed.

The interconnecting threads were retied in the triple pattern of first freeing, then educating, and thereafter providing color caste Congregationalists and their cousins with a prepaid, expense-free, and one-way trip to Africa. This Christianization-Civilization-Colonization formula Congregationalist Samuel Hopkins formulated in 1776, the ACS formalized in 1816-17, Beecher-Stowe forwarded in 1852, and A.M.A. agents found fashionable and fashioned as their final solution in their Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction functions.

Charitable color caste deculturalization, denaturalization, and deportation abided as the religious humanitarian proposal American Civil Religion powerhouses promoted as the absolutely certain way of avoiding the predictable antislavocracy-proslavocracy confrontation, Yankee v. Confederate Civil War, and Black-race conflict and competition with White-ethnic labor.

This anti-Black race interest message, meaning, and method communicated clearly that the religion and race relations program of Protestantism subsisted of utilitarian idealism. Pragmatic dogmatists turned dogmatic pragmatists argued from silence that their systematic pragmatism and systemic realism system was not unrealistic but merely an expedient experimental exercise engaged to secure conveniently pro-White race/ethnic real political and economic interests, to deny pro-Black race power and possibility, and to demand that their color caste cultural kith and kin suffer the consequences willingly.

Given their grasp of the historical record and current performance of establishment American Churches, the proselytized churchmen who converted to become the color caste clergymen-politician leadership class had solid reasons to hope for the best and to expect the worse from the Protestant power elite.

THE RACIALISM RECORD HORACE BUSHNELL REJECTS FOR RACISM

The rational racialism and racism reasoning of the Reverend Horace Bushnell (1802-76), the elder contemporary of Beecher-Stowe, adds perspective to the issue of the role of race in the rhetoric of the rich and famous romantics and realists. What can be explained but not explained away are the arguments asserting there abides reasonable doubt concerning driving anti-Black race desire being a cultural continuum (if not congenital condition like the Calvinist-Puritan "seed" of Abraham) of American Congregationalism, a major rather than minor constituent element of the Yankee Church of Christ prior to the twentieth century, and a permanent instead of a temporary confusion produced by the incendiary battles waged between social reactionary and conservative traditionalists.

Lingering doubt arguably results from stubborn rather than strong reasons for the judicious and independent-minded critic who assesses the weight of evidence presented by Bushnell: the host in himself of early ultra-liberal theological deviations from the norm of "Consistent Calvinism," yet persistent Evangelical Congregationalist protectionist of the Trinitarian tradition.

Bushnell materialized in the perception of the perceptive proponents of biracial egalitarianism a walking rational contradiction in terms, the representative figure of puritanical moralism raised to the ultimate magnitude of puritanical hypocrisy, and the theological liberal who managed to be at once a legal and social reactionary and an economic and political conservative. Among the Black race double jeopardy and White race double indemnity aggressive religious racist dualists, Bushnell earned his reputation for being the quintessential double damnation and double-minded Yankee-Puritan (who by definition cannot be divided in will or between mind and will). He was much more and nothing less than the crystallization of the recurring and recycling Puritan spirit of anti-Black race indifference.

The anti-Black race values presence of Bushnellian philanthropist types was sustained by the interest generated from the invested profitable philanthropy income, and the outcome of the dynamic tension produced in the conflict between Puritan tribalism-pervasive love and Yankee individualism-intensive hate of the Black race.

Bushnell is best known to history as the Connecticut Yankee who matched his supreme talent as a secular logician and religious rationalist with large accomplishments in Protestant Christian education. He clearly did not throw out with the predestination ("total depravity" of man) Calvinistical baptismal water the anti-Black race virtue Puritan baby, that Yankees so dearly loved, nurtured, and protected in church and state. Equally obviously, the common literary source of the national fame enjoyed by Beecher-Stowe and Bushnell is not the extent of their parallel and intersecting race lines. Bushnell was born, weaned, and nurtured a Congregationalist (and Beecher-Stowe a Presbyterian nine years later) in Litchfield, Connecticut.

Reformed Church clergyman Lyman Beecher served as pastor (1799-1809) of the Presbyterian Church of Long Island prior to becoming the minister (1810-26) of the Litchfield Congregationalist Church of Christ: in which town the presbyter first gained national attention as a master of the art of revivalism and craft of evangelism, and rose relatively rewarded for his productive life to become a comparatively wealthy and renowned (or infamous) churchman. Beecher's great gifts (and more disputable graces) included considerable talent as a local church pastor (and evangelist and revivalist), academic administrator, and na-

tional director of ecclesiastical institutions.

Bushnell's parents moved their family (in 1805) to New Preston, Connecticut, where, Bushnell reported, he was born again or "owned the covenant" in 1821.

This spiritual experience occurred in the middle of the Missouri Bill-engendered raging proslavery/antislavery national debate in Congress, that ended in the Missouri Compromise and marked the effective beginning of democracy's slavocracy, prior to Bushnell graduating (in 1827) from Yale. The Yalie departed New Haven for New York City where he secured employment, initially as a school teacher and subsequently as an editorial writer for the new *Journal of Commerce* (1827), and studied law privately prior to matriculating at Yale Law School.

A brief period elapsed after his return to New Haven before his mind was changed, and he elected not to follow the trail traversed a decade earlier by (his later nemesis) Presbyterian evangelist-revivalist Charles Grandison Finney: who, like Bushnell's Congregationalist compeer Lyman Abbott, passed the bar examination and practiced as an attorney prior to launching his professional career as clergyman without formal theological training.

Bushnell entered Yale Divinity School, where he studied with Beecher's lifelong friend Nathaniel William Taylor. A superbly well-trained and equipped Yankee rationalist and ecclesiastical litigious litigator, in the Puritan tradition apposite parsons adopting the legal reasoning approach of secular lawyers and adapting the logic-laced analytical method to theological questions and the business of religion, Bushnell eagerly engaged his vocation and avocation as a true amateur (for the pure and simple love of the pursuit). He interpreted his chosen profession as a call to employ his talents as a responsible educational evangelist, and practiced his principles as an innovative philosopher of theology.

Bushnell graduated from Yale Divinity School to enter the clerical profession as a local church parson, in which office his career-long productive years professional life revolved around his service as minister (1833-59) of the North Congregational Church of Christ in Hartford, Connecticut.[228]

Developing an urban-suburban metropolitan ministry among Calvinist capitalists, as a minister ministering to a ministering community of power elitists and professionals, Bushnell mastered the art of preaching the Evangelical gospel of dynamic individual growth, community expansion, and national extension of the American Civil Religion. In this sacred and profane mode and mission, as the method is the message and the moral medium model messenger, on January 10, 1839, Bushnell ascended into the pulpit of North Church and delivered *A Discourse on the Slavery Question* (1839).

Both in style and substance, the sermon expressly flowed analogous to a picture perfect painting in living color of Connecticut Yankee anti-Black race values: one noteworthy because of its large canvas representational projection of exquisite detail, and for its remarkably brilliant illustrated illumination of the ranging Puritan secular and religious perspective. Bushnell preached the White race gospel that declares the "whole stock" of the Black race is pervaded with those "vices which taint the blood and cut down life."

He rejected European-influenced rational religious romantic racialism, currently finding favor among the American cultural elite, and accepted the new-emerging and Continental-designed pseudo-scientific theories of superior and inferior races that carried by intellectuals from "Old to New England." Apparently the race gospel according to Bushnell was a well-received Yankee rational development, and logical revision, of the original Puritan ideology and

Calvinist theology. His revision coordinated secular/civil-sector-effective doctrine of the select "Elect of God" or "Chosen People and race of saints," and the dogma of Evangelical Millennialism.

Hartfordians heard the Word performed that promised the "premature extinction" (by 1890) of the American Black race: the "barbarous people" who carried in their faces the *black* identification mark of Cain (Adam's son), and the curse upon Canaan (Ham's son) and his descendants. Convinced that his forthtelling and fortunetelling powers were reliable predictors, prophet Bushnell predicted the North America-indigenous Black race would vanish before the Vanishing Native Americans disappeared. He stated on the record to his public that the end of the Black race, before the beginning of the twentieth century, is as inevitable as the imminent future in history of the eminent Millennium and as certain as the current great demise of the Indians who are "now fast yielding to the infection of death."[229]

VULNERABLE PRESBYTER J. W. C. PENNINGTON TO ARBITRARY HORACE BUSHNELL IN HARTFORD

Black folk were in love and trouble with Yankee Calvinist (if not also with other religious and secular Puritan) professors, not the least among whom was Bushnell's Black Presbyterian brother of the cloth, serving in Hartford after being denied admission to Yale Divinity School: *Fugitive Blacksmith* (1850) James Pembroke, known to his contemporaries his alias, the Reverend James William Charles Pennington (1809-70).

As minister (1838-45) of the Fifth Congregational Church of Christ in Hartford, J. W. C. Pennington was elected moderator of the Hartford Congregationalist Consociation of Clergy. In his *Farewell Sermon* (1845), Pennington reminded the congregants that his request for a *Two Years Leave of Absence* (beginning November 1845) was precipitated by new threats: and the real fear that his runaway statusless existence and location would be disclosed to slavehunters if he did not escape from the unreliable protection afforded fugitives by the Hartford community.

The world slaves made and masters controlled for their own self-serving dramatic reasons was changing in the rational means justifies the ratiocinative ends mean-spirited and moral mind of men of mastery like Bushnell, the mind of the master (more confused than fused with the Master) master mind.

Forthwith he converted from a covert to an overt counterintelligence operative for Northern and Southern White Nationalists who presumed nature and nature's God designed (for unfathomable perfect purposes) the universe that operates on automatic rational operating principles apposite the universal and irreversible "survival of the fittest" and nonsurvival of the weak prey of the strong laws of life; the Black race so inferior to the superior White race it could not meet the stiff competition of the competitiveness-concentric races and activated the race eradication law of nature and Providence provided for genus survival and improvement that the Black body is more unable than unwilling to reverse; determined they were called and chosen (sons of the saint and sinner fathers advancing the Calvinist-Puritan Evangelical Millennarianism continuum from John Eliot through Jonathan Edwards who pressed the people of God to precipitate the early arrival of Millennium or Ultimate Revolution and thus the Second Coming of Christ) and accepted the call to accelerate the reverse flow of the Black race's birth canal channel; assured the private and parochial as

well as public powerhouses that their antiblack white-ethnic virtue (driving the black Devil with the Black race out of the White Man's Country in keeping with the natural law bestowed to secure linear moral progress in peace and prosperity and to keep democracy and slavocracy safe and sane for the Savior to save the righteous right from the Black body of error and evil who possessed no rights and had no right to be wrong) was irresistible; proposed to the cultural determiners that the best way to manage the foolish Black people who resist the inevitable elimination of their race is to charge them a user's fee for existence; and certified on the record that their crusade to cancel rather than to correct the color caste/bondage condition was not demonstrable deterrence-benevolence but the beautiful truth of chastity champions commanding charity chariots of *fire and faggot.*

Ironically for Bushnell, the master race and religion minister, ruling elder Pennington was neither a "riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma" nor a paradox but a phenomenon who proved the convictions of his courage, the courage of his convictions, and the rule (rather than the exception to the rule) of race. Bushnell concurrently (a) chose not to collide in clerical circles with his color caste chairman of the Hartford Presbyterian/Congregationalist Consociation of Clergy; (b) claimed his conscious Connecticut color prejudice heritage; came in out of the cold as a secret agent for antiabolitionism and surfaced as public defender of the Fugitive Slave Law; rushed out of the closet into the pulpit where with candor he preached his congenital racism to the public as conventional wisdom and consensus conscience of the centrist citizens; and published his anti-Black race values.

Bushnell, who as a Yankee-Puritan master was everything and anything but a failure to communicate, contributed little to allay Pennington's greater sense of unsecurity than insecurity. Indeed, to Pennington's search for security in Hartford, Bushnell added nothing more momentous than the silent pledge and solemn promise to secure the risk-replete plight and environment of the fugitive in flight from justice.

Strange as it may seem for the world-class religious education innovator, who as the ruling class ruler ruled that for the White race/ethnic linear progress entailed spiritual and moral growth attained by cultural nurture rules at once copying and regulating or ruling physical nature laws, Bushnell neither promoted decriminalization of self-liberation or self-determination (liberty) as good and dehumanization (slavery) as evil nor rescued the perishing brother of the cloth nor protected the vulnerable runaway from the arbitrary slavecatchers nor threatened but promised Pennington he would not survive more providential permanent punishments than rewards or escape eternal double damnation in history.

Arguably this poor posture for the pastors' pastor was a nature-derived God-created congenital rather than cultural-cultivated condition that Bushnell could no more correct than the divine could defy successful the law of gravitation. Presbyterian Beecher and Congregationalist Bushnell were two Calvinists who typified their Connecticut Yankee character which they disclosed by holding beneath notice and respect the Black body in general and Pennington in particular: their clerical brother who parted company with the host in himself, fled Hartford heartless and hardball players, sailed to the Continent to earn on the lecture circuit sufficient to purchase his manumission papers, and became the first Black American recipient of an honorary doctoral degree when the honor was conferred upon him in 1850 by the University of Heidelberg (1386), one of

the oldest and strongest universities in Germany.

Complementarily, Beecher and Bushnell opposed the formation of New Abolitionist societies within the Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches (to say little of the anathema they persistently visited upon the quasi-private/parochial/public AAS AFAS), led the defense of the establishmentarian Puritan hegemony during the Kansas-Nebraska Compromise upspringing from conflict of interests between Yankees and Cavaliers over their real political and economic opportunities in the West, and demonstrated that as leaders of the Reformed and Orthodoxy Calvinist traditions they were neither behind the social conservative preponderance nor ahead of these status quo ruling majorities but right in step with the main street dictators of the proletariat and elite, ecclesiastical and civil order, and the political economy.

Unerringly, therefore, Bushnell was true to his nature and character in calling for *The Northern Iron* (1854) of Yankee-Puritan superiority to forge a steel-like antislavocracy magnum force; to deploy the irresilient and irresistible irradiance to lay waste the technology-inferior slavocracy, organized by slavocrats who confuse superior capabilities with the unmatched ego-excited power hunger drives of expansionists in the West and thus demonstrate diminished capacities rather than irreducible powers; and to apply the peerless Puritan efficient and proficient technical skills, normally engaged in masterfully predicting and controlling the physical universe, in the exploding physical and social science fields and social engineering the nature-derived natural selection process to accelerate nature's God-designed extinction of the Black race.[230]

CAPACIOUS CAPRICE CALVINIST DIVINE HORACE BUSHNELL

Moving as a radical to defend Yankee-Puritan real interests and values, and a reactionary rationalizer of the anti-Black race principles springing from dogmatic Puritan ideology and Calvinistical theology, revolutionist Bushnell stood out in the madding crowd of Congregationalists with the establishmentarian leaders who did not seek either to form conventional wisdom behind their leadership or to lead the centrists but to discern the direction of the consensus and arrive in the front ranks just ahead of the massive body of Christian traditionalists. Apparently Bushnell possessed neither a mind nor a reason to repent and rethink (or correct) the unmitigated anti-Black race-specific hardheartedness that the hardheaded hard right parson preached and published fifteen years earlier, specifically, the original *Discourse on the Slavery Question* wherein Bushnell condemned the Black race as the manifest bare essence of "defrauded immorality."

And, in this same pro-White race/ethnic sermon on the meaning and method of the White Nationalism message that he delivered to White Nationalists in the Promised Land, the White Nationalist proclaimed that he looked forward to the promised "glorious" emancipation of slaves and the White Man's Burden, the great day of (not liberation in freedom and justice for Black folk but) Jubilee for White folk. Bushnell not only pronounced his translation of the Old Testament "Jubilee" the authorized new standard version of Channing's Protestant *Emancipation* Proclamation, but he elucidated the reasons why he was convinced it was the only authentic one.

Bushnell carefully and clearly defined the White Folk Jubilee as the "first day of conscious liberty" for Anglo-Saxons, and decreed that the arrival of the "glorious" emancipation day will coincide with the ultimate moment when history

and eternity meets in time and space, the complementary final solution and predestined double damnation of the Black race will transpires, and when, according to the executioner's song of White folk of jubilation, Black folk as an undifferentiated whole will be irreversibly and irretrievably "doomed to spin their brutish existence downward into extinction."[231]

Bushnellian racialism was the absence of romanticism and presence of rigorous rational and religious racism, whose liquidation conscious intentions and consequences centered in his commitment to predict and control eternity in history. The Black race extinction systematic and systemic sacred theology and methodology for securing the triumph of White race/ethnic values and the defeat of Black race values, upspringing from the Calvinistical legalistic mind of a lawyer turned clergyman who turned up the secularization of Millennialism (the "Ultimate Revolution" for Jonathan Edwards) and the sacralization of racism (the ultimate solution of profane Social Darwinians), was an anti-Black race values process often approached and improved but seldom surpassed by either important religious and secular theorists of superior and inferior races or their past and present compeers.

Bushnell's chief class over caste concern coincided with his primary motivation and major objective, to wit, to liquidate the Black race from the face of the earth universally, unconditionally, and immediately. In short, he reversed the means-ends of New Abolitionism, and with the Bushnellian means (race extinction) justifies the ends (elimination of the White Man's Burden) overriding the Garrisonian/Tappanite means (abolition) justified by the ends (self-determination) and end (liberty in freedom from dehumanization) justifies the means (self-liberation) principles the antiabolitionist employed the obsolescence rule for the dematerialization of the Black race to render proabolitionists irrelevant. Coincidentally, the competitive Connecticuter committed himself either to complement or both to compete with and to out-Colonization Colonizationists, as if he was impatient with their deliberate speed and rhythm of Black race deliverance and expulsion program.

The Bushnellian updated old Puritan race and revised Yankee racist premises, principles, and process that the litigious litigator rationalized and developed from a hypothesis into thesis to a theory of American Civil Religion--from the identical premises underpinning profane racial theories and sacred Evangelical Millennial theologies--were the cause and effect of the new pseudo-scientific and or emerging Social Darwinian motive, means, and opportunity exciting the Yale-led secular and religious social scientists.

Additionally, political and economic realism demonstrated conclusively for any theological liberal and British utilitarianism or American pragmatism philosophical realist that the ACS program was cost-prohibitive. These current realities informed the Bushnellian value judgment and conclusion that neither voluntary emigration nor coerced deportation of the abominated Black people was either possible or necessary but counterproductive expenditures of energy. Whence the pragmatic dogmatist and dogmatic pragmatist felt impelled to generate his radical substitute for Colonizationism.[232]

Rational profane philosophy and sacred theology dictated Bushnell's anti-Black race virtue and pro-White race/ethnic vice terms that he declared values, and developed through the antebellum decades until the outbreak of the Civil War. Just before the declaration and after the Confederate States seceded, Bushnell preached his sermon on *The Census and Slavery* (1860). In this homily, he issued a call for the "superior" Yankee-Puritan head and heart of the Union

to employ their leverage efficiently to generate and impose upon the Confederates the measure of pressure sufficient to guarantee instant direct action in line with their survival priority, and to limit their live option to one alternative to extinction of the Southern Way of Life, to wit, expending the resources necessary to drive Black folk out of existence and into eternity.

As a fellow Congregationalist theological liberal, Bushnell compared favorably with Social Gospel liberals Henry Ward Beecher and Lyman Abbott and the Yankee-Puritan trinity were more often imitated than matched as post-Reconstruction national leaders of sons and daughters of the wayward worldly saints. Yet, Bushnell distinguished himself by straightforwardly admonishing his English-Puritan congregants to accept the reality of their "superior lives," and to forget about color caste congregants because, common sense and universally validated facts any individual can empirically verify, the Black race-specific people comprise a North American race that compared to the Yankee-Puritan branch of Anglo-Saxons is a much "inferior and far less cultivated stock."

Demonstrable nonsense is arguing from the descriptive facts of their mutually fertile relations to the value judgment inherent in the conclusion that Black and White Southerners (to say little of New Englanders) are preponderantly cultural kin-groups, composed of no less consequential for being obvious real but random odd couples who acknowledge their genetic kinship.

He argued that, quite like the black multi-ethnics in Africa, the native North American Black race-only and deethnicized people are not the kith and kin of the Aryan race settlers in the Northeastern, Southeastern, Mid-Atlantic, and Western States: Black Americans are a separate and distinct unmixed breed "thousands of years behind" White Americans in the "scale of culture." His romanticism-devoid religious ultra-racism resulted from the rational exchange of one set of "unchristian" Puritan-Yankee (hyperexclusive superiority) and Evangelical Millennial (Calvinistical double damnation) interpretations for more vile racial inferiority pseudo-scientific theories.

Satisfied with his ability to translate fiction into fact, and determination to make his fantasy the structured reality, Bushnell was driven to contend the Black race is inferior, in the foreseeable future must slip into oblivion, and therefore the lingering "few and still fewer children" of Black folk should not "grieve us" superior Anglo-Saxon/Yankee-Puritans: who, as masters of the North American elite corps of the Germanic-based Aryan race, inherit the noble capacity to absorb the small and temporary remnant of Black folk in our "more cultivated race."

It is a more interesting than curious fact that Kinmontian rational and religious racial romanticism is difficult to locate within the space of the Bushnellian vision, even though Bushnell was also a liberated Calvinist logician for whom black magic and white magic combined with either secular White folk's love of profane mystery or and religious White folk's reverence for sacred mysticism were co-equally untenable.[233]

If any antebellum man was with his antislavocracy-proslavocracy neutral time it was Bushnell. Long since out of obscurity, he followed the Halfway Piety "New Divinity" or "New Light" (Edwardseanism and Hopkinsianism subsequently renamed "New Haven Theology") track of Congregationalist theologians, in which path he refashioned their antiblack white-ethnic virtue by advancing their anti-Black race values and anti-Black race interest into anti-Black race virtue.

Bushnell rejected the anti-Black race interest motivation and purpose espoused by Samuel Hopkins: the father of the Christianization-Civilization-Colon-

ization idea ASC descendants developed but also the foremost Old Abolitionist Congregationalist clergyman, who evinced his serious concern for Black people and that tragic gap between his pro-Black race interests promise and performance was due to a rigid Calvinistical theology structuring a benevolent paternalism morality. He fell in line and marched locked-step behind the Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethics re-revisionists Jonathan Edwards, Edwardsean Samuel Hopkins, and post-Edwardseans Timothy Dwight and Nathaniel William Taylor.

Moving with the Yale re-revisionists, Bushnell paid his respects to the key Calvinist doctrine of Original Sin. He accepted Taylor's reinterpretation of the dogma that translated "sin is sinning": a negative power rather than positive power decision, act of will, or exercise of the power of choice by each human being whose constituent nature includes--along with reason and freedom of choice (to elect)--the endowed capacity to know right and wrong and to select either and/or both. Whence Taylor that sin is not a genetic inheritance but a universal human experience, (conditioned by the determination to choose alternatives which fall short of correspondence between knowing, being, and doing the RIGHT and GOOD inherent in BEING or GOD).

The Tayloresque reinterpretation underpinned the landmark Bushnell work, that made him more famous than rich--*Christian Nurture* (1847). In this national religious best seller, celebrated for its leap from the traditional Calvinistical predestination and predetermination rational organizing principle--centering around the selection of the "Elect" and "Reprobate" of God--to the universal election of his/her historical and eternal fate and/or destiny by each individual, Bushnell condemned to infamy and ill fortune only Black (instead of all) men.

Produced five years before Presbyterian-Congregationalist Beecher-Stowe's secular romance (*Uncle Tom's Cabin*) was marketed and became an American publishing sensation, *Christian Nurture* (or cultivated rational growth and development through expansion of religious gifts and graces as a complement of or alternative to untutored conversion) was so popular that Bushnell continuously revised new editions (between 1847 and 1861).

In 1860, he added a chapter entitled *The Out-Populating Power of the Christian Stock*: whom Yankees were and Black folk could no more be than color caste Congregationalists could become Puritans. His textual development of the "inferior" Black race appeared in the 1871 edition of *Christian Nurture*.

No doubt, in one or more editions, the textbook in religious improvement was well-marked and accessible to anyone privileged to browse among the books on the shelves of Congregationalist missionary- educators in the South: where forward from the mid-bellum era they were committed to a constructive engagement that focused more upon the deconstruction of the freedmen than the Reconstruction of the South.[234]

Bushnell constructed a hypothesis he developed into a thesis that his contemporary younger peer and Timothy Dwight's grandson, and namesake who like his grandfather also became President of Yale, elevated into a Puritan theory of Yankee superiority before the close of the nineteenth century.[235] New England Puritans, Bushnell had no doubt, were sent by Divine Providence on an *Errand into the Wilderness* of North America endowed with unexcelled "principles and habits, intellectual culture, domestic virtue, industry, order, law, faith," and "culture."

The intergenic transmission of these noble values by the Puritan progenitors, according to Bushnell, both assured permanent Puritan hegemony of American

culture and proved their indispensability for Protestant Christian civilization--whose secular and religious interassociation enhanced the utilitarian function of the Puritan tradition as the necessary medium of preparation for the emerging Millennium. The Puritan antiblack white-ethnic virtue, and its anti-Black race virtue (the positive negation of the essentially insignificant Black folk) perversion, Bushnell managed to fuse, to conflate as dogmatic Puritan ideology and Calvinist theology, and to remove its secular and religious tension: whereupon the Puritan benign sacred neglect was directly connected with the Yankee malign profane neglect of Black people.

Although a devious and deceptive false maneuver, Bushnell manipulated the authentic Puritan Piety faith and positive/negative antiblack white-ethnic virtue ethic of the Puritan fathers and intertwisted it with the equally real and potential (but neither necessary nor inevitable) bad Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethic of the Yankee sons. He was correct in what he affirmed and incorrect in what he denied in this distinguishing the distinction that makes all the difference in the world between the solid primary and slippery slope secondary ethic. Although the original tradition is partially compatible with the revisionist deviation from the norm, and vulnerable to the arbitrary legalists (demanding total obedience to any-and-every law) preferring to stabilize injustice for the advantaged to establishing justice for the disadvantaged, the distinction he failed to observe in his perversion is that good is in conflict with bad faith. The whole and the surrogate half positively connect less and disconnect more often because they are ill fitting, moreover, like the permanent presence of God (good) and the Devil (evil) and their tension in history, bad faith is unable and unwilling to accept the truth of good faith which is able nor willing to escape the problem of wrong and the possibility of righting wrong inherent in direct action to advance the public interest.[236]

BUSHNELLIAN ANTI-BLACK RACE VIRTUE AND PRO-WHITE RACE VICE VALUES

History and the Christian scholars among his contemporaries form a consensus confirming that in *Christian Nurture*, the product of the Protestant century that became a Protestant classic and the bible for proselytizers and educators of thousands of new churchmen in the nineteenth century, Bushnell wrote the book on Evangelical ecumenical and sectarian church education. For revealed truth true believers and Protestant professors, *Christian Nurture* was a revelation, the pluperfect relation of reason and revelation, and the most positively reviewed, highly recommended, universally accepted, and widely read theoretical and practical Christian education textbook.

In this popular and potent religious education handbook, that the up-to-date rationalist produced to update the Calvinist reason and revelation rational organizing power principle as well as to sharpen the competitiveness of the distinctive rationalization powers distinguishing Calvinistical from Arminian Evangelicalism and Millennialism, Bushnell reoriented the time-honored New England establishment Congregationalism's local church-centered evangelism and annual revivals that entailed being instantly born and/or revived again--consisting of a high intensity and high anxiety immediacy of conversion and revitalization process whose highly charged structure and system was designed to produce personal character development and church expansion--to the highly-touted less

emotive (experiential) or more rational (cerebral) method and efficient means of sustaining ever-developing moral individuals and ever-expanding churches.

Christian Nurture over nature meant mind over matter and money mangers achieving, as parochial professionals in their roles as professors of priests and parish parson and parishioner preceptors, linear individual and community progress in moral principles and practices growth through life-long learning to love and loving to learn techniques. By integrating secular and sacred knowledge to validate the worth of spirituality and heighten its viability as the medium of grace, and adding intellectual content to moral intent to monitor and measure Christianity and civility, missionaries and ministers and educators advanced the business of religion paralleling the educational growth and development of faith and ethics.

The pertinent point is that Bushnell promoted White race superiority and Black race superiority as the principal Protestant principle in the matter of religion and race relations, preached and practiced as well as published this principle for Protestant principals to promulgate, and wrote the nineteenth-century book on cultural nurture of Christian nature from which fellow Congregationalists converted churchmen and churchwomen carpetbaggers took a leaf to instruct Black Southerners in Puritan principles and Yankee values.

Justification by faith in far right and righteous right reason or the righteousness of God constituted the means-ends driving the White Calvinist counterindoctrinationists onto confiscated plantations converted into Congregationalist compounds, where they corralled and commenced to convince the color caste class to be a Colored Christian caste.

Catholic Colored Christianity and civility, Calvinists claimed, is full faith in God, total obedience to God-ordained church and civil laws and authorities, and absolute acceptance of the Black race's inferior existence as the good gift of God, physical and human nature and nurture, and man and state. Colored congregants' achievement of proper attitude and behavior patterns mattered most for Bushnellian and Machiavellian Moral Reformers, who as master manipulators of the truth demonstrated they were attitudinal and behavioral modification experts capable of being perfectly correct in theory and incorrect in practice when they pressed upon proselytes right reason for the wrong reason and made right wrong for the wronged right: For Colored Christians, Yankee female and male teachers decreed, the only proper response to the gift of God is great gratitude, generous grace, grand grit, and grin and beat wit and humor.

Postwar Puritan professors of puritanical moralisms critically imposed their moralistic middle-class morals and manners as the measure of the worth of the Black body, and the litmus test of true believers in the parochial-private-public body of Christ, body corporate, and body politic.

Cold calculating and set in concrete color prejudice premises, Bushnell made law and history in churches and moral bricks without straw, cast class over caste in stone and his *Christian Nurture* cornerstone, managed reality on this ethical corner where he replaced disinterested will to the good and laid the Black race disinterest foundation of theological liberalism for the twentieth-century Social Gospel, which, beginning in the nineteenth century, raised to an astronomical height of sophisticated unconcernment indifference to the real and true best possible interests of Black folk.

Thanks in large measure to Bushnell, whom admirers argued without compelling force was the product of his own genius, apparently the Devil--whom Calvinists considered the "dark adversary " of pure righteousness and promptly

designed their antiblack white-ethnic virtue offense which they termed the very best defense--was eliminated entirely for Yankee powerhouses (compared to which Puritan achievement God was far less successful in eliminating His foe from history), and replaced by the moral man of progressive *Christian Nurture* and nature whom Bushnell produced for liberal rationalists. *Free at last*, and clear of any publish or perish pressure, Bushnell continued to develop revisions of the book that he continuously updated as a labor of love to reward his White friends and to punish his Black foes, and to insist that Black race is the enemy obstructing the progress of White folk.

This blaming the victim principal premise of the victimizer removed all obstacles to viewing the Black race as a threat and a problem, rather than as a challenge and opportunity for the intellectual leaders of powerhouses possessing large influence and affluence.

Bushnell passed for passed for the mind of liberalism and soul of Protestantism as certainly as he believed that the inscrutable will of God created the Black race to serve the White race, that the servant role Kinmont so highly-touted no less than the slave-labor utilitarian function of the Black body was no longer functional but indeed dysfunction for the White master (mind of the Master), that his declared worthless and obsolete expendable Black "stock" was rightly rendered excludable, and that the ultimate solution entailed eliminating all Black figures whom it was as morally correct to manipulate out of existence as were Jonathan Edwards' *Shadows and Images*.

Naturally, Edwards and Bushnell were a matched pair of Calvinist Chiaroscurists. Yet, strange to say, Bushnell coinstantaneously dismissed the Black race as pure obsolescence and reintroduced Black folk as the indispensable indelible measure or ultimate litmus test of what White Protestants were not. Bushnell swore that Black people are the black Devil (evil and error) polar opposite of the white God (good and great) White people, exactly what White folk neither ought to be nor can be, and in solid substance and style they are physical and spiritual mutually exclusive types rather than mutually fertile as Kinmont asserted.

In this sacred and profane American Civil Religion perspective, architect Bushnell surveyed the whole cultural field. In mid-career, while seeking to recover his health in the West, he staked out the cite (in 1856) upon which the University of California (at Berkeley) was established: whose Presidency he was offered but chose to refrain from adding this title to his deed.

These contributions to the White race cancelled out for cultural elite gift to the Black race, subsisting of his ethical judgment where in he concluded that the error of Black folk was their life after death, usefulness, and worthfulness.

But he differed from contemporary Northern and Southern White ethnic mobocrats, who insisted upon charging Black people a user's fee for the balance of their existence, survival, and struggle to compete with them for scarce resources.

Bushnell, the Yankee Puritan race representative, determined that Black Americans possessed no right to life and no right to work but had a perfect right to die. Anti-Black race virtue was the pure gospel according to Bushnell, whom Yankee Congregationalists and other white Christians honored as the patron "saint" of liberal Protestantism. The only virtue of the vice and disvalues inherent in this estimation of the national treasure was the public exposure of the extreme vulnerability of Black folk to the White hope.[237]

Occasionally, like all human beings, he may have made a logical mistake or

adopted a theoretically unsound position, and demonstrated the capacity to admit an error in judgment and perspective: which occurred when he declared "I don't make a good pedagogue." But Bushnell was fundamentally committed to producing not only the generalizable but also the universalizable rational religious and moral laws, rules, and regulations, as sacred and profane attitudinal and behavioral modification norms, and models and mirrors by which citizens in the ecclesiastical and civil sectors might monitor and measure their standard deviations. Bushnell was not given to generate abstractions as much as he was committed to developing clear and accurate concrete specifications, which he questioned less seriously than he was able because he was not willing to consider them as other than basically correct.

Bushnell attracted attention as a phenomenon in total command of great powers of concentration and discrimination because of his striking contradictions. He was a presence advancing Yankee-Puritan collective security special interests, whose value was conspicuous by the absence of equally praiseworthy general interest-securing public ethics. This remarkable and consequential moral deficiency involved rapidly depreciating incentives and appreciating disincentives relative to affirming the shared "collective conscience" (energized apace the dynamics of the swiftly declining significance of "collective guilt" and sharply inclining importance of "collective responsibility") of the New England headgroup.

Regarding the Congregationalist leadership Denomination specifically--whose antebellum New England Way compared favorably to the Southern Way of Life when Orthodoxy's clergy closed their churches (functioning interdependently as religious sanctuaries and secular town meetinghouses) to New Abolitionist lecturers in the late 1830s--Bushnell shared in their Yankee-Puritan "collective conscience" as fully as he stood in this Evangelical Protestant entrance-way to equal opportunity, rights and responsibilities, and participatory democracy. He co-equally figuratively and literally barred the antebellum self-determination and postbellum equalitarianism doors of equal access to competitiveness in the face of the Black race.[238]

The Puritan fathers of Black folk and Yankee Bushnell appeared to be constitutionally constructed with myopia and bifurcation of reality character traits, whose cultural and congenital nature produced a blind spot in Puritan tribalism that apparently left the Puritan plurality whole half oblivious and half tolerant of the permanent internal affect and external effect in New England of their avoiding first bondage and then caste conditions and being repeatedly blindsided by reality. Perchance for the same reasons why they did not suffer knowingly any alternative ethical approaches to their firm friends they turned into formidable foes and enemies, a minority of color-conscious Calvinist Puritans embraced the select Black New Englanders they denominated the "Elect" exceptions to the "Reprobate" masses whose approached distinguished them from the error-intensive and truth-limiting color-blind perspective advocated by the dead to perspective majority.

By riding both horns (anti-Black race interest and anti-Black race indifference), the majority of the original Calvinist Puritans nearly escaped scot-free through the middle of the American dilemma blindfolded but they were stuck on their own twin principal principles and symbols. However, before *rigor mortis* set in during the Enlightenment and acting under the influence of enlightened secular humanism and religious humanitarianism, Yankee sons attempted to remove the gored Puritan body from the piercing bondage and caste horns. Simul-

taneously, in a cover-up operation wherein they used rational reflective smoke plus a color-blind looking-glass as a mirror to distract attention from their English progenitors' African progenies' faces and figures portraying the facts of their Black and White cultural kin-groups.

THE DEVIL IN AND FOR OUT OF CONTROL HORACE BUSHNELL

Moving in time, through and over time to the mind of Bushnell, the peculiar Puritan *Errand into the Wilderness* of North America surfaced from his unconscious into his conscious which call he chose to accept and extended the mission from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Bushnell moved in the East on the frontier of Protestant parochial and private education, and personal and public morality, and exploited the ethical resources of these reserves as thoroughly as he explored the new Frontier and Wilderness of the West.

In the twilight zones (between sunset and moonlight and dusk and dawn), on these risk-filled perimeters of civility, Yankee Bushnell, like Daniel Webster, faced the Devil (whom his Puritan fathers encountered) on behalf of his community of Calvinist capitalists: whose real estate interests he resolved to increase with a will to power matching his slavocrat adversaries' (expanding the slavocracy in the West) determination to secure their color chattel property real interests. Predictably, the Devil held no surprises for Bushnell: the absolutely superior rationalist Yankee son compared to his relatively inferior rationalist Puritan forefathers, and no less a man of great ambition and master of enterprise.

Into his power and uncommon depth perception and great perspective, Bushnell instantly identified the ubiquitous Devil he claimed was disguised as the Black body because the black mask was a familiar to Yankees.

Bushnell acquired the association between the Devil and Black folk from Puritan folk lore and Yankee custom, and by means of personal cultural experience developed the folkways into mores without expending excessive amounts of his rational resources and power of imagination. But the crisis in culture causing the conflict between Northern and Southern Anglo-Americans placed enormous strains on his Yankee pride and prejudice, and he appeared less of an angry young man than a master rationalist overtaken by rage as he generated high levels of unhealthy moral and psychic energy. Throughout his life time and North America, Black body was considered a race of human beings and a clear and present danger.

The image of Black people as a threat to the personal property and body of White folk did not excite Bushnell to see the ghosts of the black Devil his fathers flailed in body and soul less frequently but as viciously as antebellum slavemasters flogged fugitives slavecatchers caught and returned to the plantation. But the Black body, that his Southern White power elite peers found invaluable because it maximized their pleasure and minimized their pain, incited Bushnell to riot like White ethnic lynch law lawless, to render Black folk mere specters--comprising not flesh and blood characteristics but those of an evil spirit--and to lead the crowd that turned into a mob and pressed the public to see that Black people were driven (unlike Indian ethnics forced onto the periphery of American civilization) from the visible to the invisible world.

Bushnell raised the standards of puritanical hypocrisy, puritanical moralism, and puritanical hyperexclusivity for the record. The Connecticut Yankee head, and heart of puritanicalism in New York, was burning with the fame that in-

flamed his irruptive desire to light the fire he hoped and prayed would consume the Black race.

The crusader for Christ and culture, who preferred pogroms like the Spanish Inquisition to sophisticated modern mind control and deprogramming techniques, succeeded in enlarging God's presence in history ethically as solidly as he failed in his attempt to eradicate Black existence in the world. He managed to char the Puritan body of Yankee puritanical hyperexclusivity with his intense anti-Black race desire, which hardly needed to be further singed and burned in order to be buried effectively and appropriately.[239]

STRUCTURE-CHANGING SOCIAL GOSPEL ARCHITECT AND INSTITUTIONAL RACISM-STABILIZING APOGEE JOSIAH STRONG

White Nationalism field marshal Bushnell developed his lucid, concise, and cogent anti-Black race virtue into a powerful precision instrument for professionals, capable of executing a perfect preemptive strike of the Black race, and delivered it to his White Nationalist card-carrying comrades. In this color caste class tactical session, strategic commander was in complete control of his faculties when he told Congregationalist clergymen-racists bent of erasing the Black race that as the absence of collective guilt and collective responsibility and presence of a clear and "Consistent Calvinist" collective conscience they were a collective clergy class called and chosen for collective security.

He guaranteed successful achievement of the color caste class cancellation common cause followed automatically from total belief that the truth is one and in one truth: The White race is the God squad and Black body is the vice squad whose Black race is good for nothing "but the inevitable extinction" they volunteered to expedite as ethical excellent executioners, efficiency experts, and cost-conscious public servants.

Whence Bushnellian enlightened self-interest entailed individual and community sacrifice of special interests for general interest, and Bushnell (from 1839 to 1876) bid fair to out-Beecher Lyman Beecher: who (in 1836) exercised his influence in the Massachusetts and Connecticut Congregational Consociations of Congregationalists wherein his class over caste cultural crisis wish was the command of the clergy, who in a classic class conflict collectively denied townspeople their time-honored right to convene a town meeting for any purpose they deemed worthy in their churches which served as the town meeting houses when they refused them permission to invite New Abolitionist lecturers.

The Bushnellian anti-Black race interest thesis was racy racism revised, revitalized, and reformulated by the Reverend Julian Monson Sturtevant (1805-86) in his mid-bellum disquisition on *The Destiny of the African Race in the United States* (1863). Sturtevant wrote this more mean-minded and mean-spirited than provocative essay in the middle of the Civil War as the Congregationalist clerical complement of Presbyterian Nathan Lord and Episcopalian John Henry Hopkins. It was published during his tenure as President of Illinois College, in which office the chief executive officer succeeded antislavery moderate liberal Edward Beecher and managed as a perception is reality professor to project his value judgment as descriptive fact.

Succinctly stating his true desire and truly desired consequences, Sturtevant concluded that in direct line with the "beneficent law" of nature and nature's God postbellum Black folk "must melt away and disappear forever from the midst of us."[240] Albeit clear that the nineteenth and twentieth centuries-cor-

rupting Bushnellian principle made an indelible impression on the mind of Sturtevant, the special interests specialist's most public general interest-limiting negative fallout and spin-off followed from the positive connection of Bushnell and the Reverend Josiah Strong (1847-1916): the minister of the Central Congregational Church of Christ in Cincinnati, until he published *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (1885).

Marketed nine years after Bushnell died (with the demise of the Reconstruction of the South that the Black race deconstructionist despised), *Our Country* set Strong apart as the standardbearer of White race/ethnic Protestant liberalism in the Social Gospel movement. A traditional evangelist and revivalist in revised Calvinist Orthodoxy, Strong became the organizing genius of the Protestant progressive transformationist, ecumenical, and liberal Social Gospel sectarians upon accepting his appointment as General Secretary (1866-98) of the American branch of the Evangelical World Alliance (of Protestant Churches united by the belief that they were engaged in the Protestant century, able to overturn papal power, and called in the Victorian Age of imperialism to replace the pope as the vicar of Christ on earth and the Roman Catholic Church as the hegemonic Church or visible body of Christ and medium of grace and salvation and become the ecclesiastical peerless power and authority throughout the inhabited earth).

It is difficult to imagine how any one of his contemporary clerical compeers could have been more faithful to Bushnell's gospel of anti-Black race values than Strong, who quoted Bushnell at length on the subject and object of their contempt. The high praise Strong earned as the model disciple of the Bushnellian final solution reflected his unique development of the master race Protestant theologian with intellectual competence, credibility, and courage. Confidence in his conscience was unchanging and proliferating from a plurality of the power elite, who revealed the absence of any paucity of White Nationalist imperialists and imperialism-expansionist Protestant peers bent on actualizing nothing less than an "Anglo-Saxonized mankind." Strong's special status emerged with the success of *Our Country* in the post-Reconstruction era. The book sold one hundred and thirty thousand copies in the first five years it was marketed, in addition to being serialized in Southern journals and newspapers.

A contributing factor to the popularity of this Protestant social policy was the studied indifference to the plight of the civil rights- and civil liberties-preempted Black citizens. Whether or not White Southerners accepted the premise that Strong promulgated as the apogee of the Social Gospel, who defended the interests of White ethnic labor by pressing for eradication of the Black race from history and therefore from the competition, they understood it to be that the Black race could not survive competition with the White race labor.

Strong's principle complemented the benevolence-deterrence "back to Africa" priority policy preferred Northeasterner benevolent paternalists with whom he labored in the West before they also relocated in the East, like the currently surviving ten of the eleven children parented by the Lyman Beechers: who did not think (as did Bushnell) that Black folk would not survive but that they might compete and thereby cause conflict; might not be able to meet the competition and therewith suffer needlessly untold consequences; might wisely face the facts of certain defeat dictating the common sense conventional wisdom that they should not compete; might best serve their interests by taking a fast boat to Africa realize; and, therefore, might as well understand and deal with the irreversible truth, that, unlike the God-given right and rights of White folk,

Black folk possess no right to be wrong, no right to dream, no right attempt the impossible, no right to believe nothing beats a try but a failure and vice versa, and no right to fail.

In *Our Country*, the American Civil Religion bestseller that he published to support his White Protestant Northern and Southern brothers and sisters in the church and state body of Christ, Strong did not need to be specific since they knew both the code term and who the "inferior races" were that he alluded to. Churchmen and non-churchmen White Southern Democrats could not have been more delighted ten years after the compromise of principle Northern Republican churchman Rutherford Birchard Hayes struck with the Congress who elected him President, that ended Reconstruction and returned to them absolute control of Black folk's life-enhancing and death-enhancing chances and destiny in the South.

Strong sealed the bond with his stamp approval of the Hayes v. Tilden tie breaking ballot that Congress cast in favor of the Republican Reconstruction Compromise: whose enactment enforcement of the deobligation policy and law remanding abandonment of the vulnerable Black body to the vindictive White body was a powerful below the belt blow, that for permanent damage was perchance exceeded only by the first White Gentlemen's Agreement that resulted in the Constitution that declared Black folk were not citizens of the Union. As A.M.A. agents preached the gospel of Bushnell to the freedmen, Strong, the Northern White liberal Congregationalist in the Yankee-Puritan tradition of class above, beneath, behind, and before caste, confirmed their faith and suspicions with his convincement that their Anglo-Saxon race was "sure to live down and finally out live its inferior."[241]

"NEW SCHOOL" ANTISLAVERY V. "OLD SCHOOL" PROSLAVERY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

The Calvinist complement of the Congregationalism's A.M.A. emerged from the minority establishing the "New Side" General Assembly (1837) after being ousted by the "Old Side" majority of the Presbyterian Church. The "New Side" Church formed (in 1861) an official alliance with the Congregationalist Denomination, and followed the "Old Side" Reformed body when it severed connections with Orthodoxy and they reunited (in 1869) as the "Old School" Northern Presbyterian Denomination. The reactionary plus conservative and moderate types of "Old School" traditionalists constituted the majority of the reunited Northern Presbyterian Church, and the leadership of the Presbyterian Freedmen's Society.[242]

Regardless of the positive correlation between the consequences of their conscious actions and their real intentions, strict constructionist Presbyterians were "Consistent Calvinists" simultaneously engaged in securing stability, opposing structural change, and ameliorating critical culture constraints that the outcastes whom Bushnellians stated had outlived their usefulness survived under.

Northern benevolent paternalists to Southern constituencies majored in negative good (relieving suffering and reducing harm), and minored in positive good (distributing parochial benevolence and private philanthropy to a particular public). The latter they were capable of declaring not static but dynamic charity, and sharing generously in response to the perceived postbellum needs of White and Black Southern Presbyterians.

The obvious and manageable challenge of leading the starving bodies and

hungry souls was a relatively safe and sure one for the sane and sound security seekers compared to the real and present danger inherent in the equally clear civil issues enveloping the Reconstruction of the South. The complex power problems and solutions were matters of resolving the political and economic conflicts of Pro-White preferences and pro-Black race real interests.

But they created a difficulty that eleemosynary Northern Presbyterian agents of amelioration apparently considered an opportunity they could afford to pass by on the other side, and without cost to their Good Samaritan mission of mercy.[243]

The Yale-revolving and Northern-controlled "New School" General Assembly initially included a slaveholding Southern constituency, who, hearing from a distance the ominous sounds of antislavocracy Northern churchmen stampeding slaveholding churchmen, merely needed to plead personal privilege and flee to the protective custody of the ecclesiastical court.[244]

The legislative body of the supreme judicatory was dominated by Lyman Beecherites, consolidating their command and control of the power levers as theological liberals and political, fiscal, legal, and social conservatives who routinely reached an accommodation with moderates promoting gradualism. Proslavocracy Southern constituents requested permission to remain slaveholders, and pleaded for an exemption status permitting them to be unmovable subjects and objects of the irrepressible antislavocracy demands of their irresistible New Abolitionist brethren.

Predictably, the majority in the Northern "New School" General Assembly, bound by their proslavocrat sentiments and to risk the ire of antislavocrats, allowed themselves to be handcuffed with their own parliamentary rules of procedure for eight years. The raw data of this history of proslavery permissiveness was recorded and provided the documented evidence for the interpretation "New School" layman James Gillespie Birney published, and established his credibility when he argued the facts in *The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery* (1840) of his case that at its inception (in 1838) his "New School" Denomination was an antiabolitionist Church, an obstructionist Assembly set in opposition to the Liberty Party that he headed, and a proslavery institution organized as a mass to ensure massive nullification of all attempts to further the removal of slaveholders.

His point was made because antiabolitionist Lyman Beecher led the pro-Colonizationism decisive voice of the Denomination, driven home by the fact that the power elite believed "abolitionism might be pronounced a sin as well as slavery"--as the Reverend Joel Parker (1799-1873) put it, while he currently received Beecher's blessing and shared values with him.[245]

Ten years earlier, Joel Parker was a New Abolitionist who accepted Lewis Tappan's invitation (in 1830) to serve as minister of the First Free Presbyterian Church in New York City: after Theodore Dwight Weld declined the offer in favor of Arthur Tappan's request that he serve as the agent of the "Associated Gentlemen" (whose cadre of Calvinist capitalists and Puritan philanthropists silk merchant Arthur Tappan led), in which capacity he located the Cincinnati cite for Lane Seminary whose establishment they financed. Subsequently, Parker accepted the sponsorship of the American Home Missionary Society, and served as its missionary-minister (1832-37) of the (first) Presbyterian Church in New Orleans.

During his ministry in Louisiana, Parker converted from pro-immediatism to pro-gradualism and embraced pro-Colonizationism. Upon his return to New York

City, Parker passed through Alton, Illinois at a moment of crisis: where he watched antiterrorist Edward Beecher challenge the terrorists unsuccessfully, and also served as he watched, waited, and witnessed the mobocrats murder with impunity Elijah Lovejoy (in 1837). Immediately following this tragedy and stop-over visit Parker arrived in Manhattan, where he succeeded Charles Grandison Finney as pastor of the former Chatham Street Chapel and new Broadway Tabernacle--the largest Protestant edifice in America built for Finney by the Tappans and the "Associated Gentlemen."

As minister (1837-40) of the Broadway Temple, (the full time pastoral office Finney resigned in favor of a part-time post to become a professor of Oberlin Collegiate Institute, whose student body was swelled by the "Rebel" theologues who departed Lane Seminary *en masse* with Weld in a class protest of President Beecher's antiabolitionist policy), Parker preferred charges of being a radical New Abolitionist against his leading parishioner, Lewis Tappan, which, in the aftermath of the Presbyterian schism and aftereffect of proslavocrat sentiment among the establishment majority of the Reformed tradition, left the independent mind without either effective support or a real alternative to disaffiliation. By this antiabolitionist attack upon the proabolitionist host in himself, Parker permanently destroyed Broadway Tabernacle and succeeded only in escaping punishment and obtaining a personal reward: Parker was appointed President (1840-42) of Union Seminary (1836), a New School Presbyterian institution in New York City.[246]

Concurrently, the minority of masterful proslavery tacticians, with the consent of the majority in the New School General Assembly, played hard ball politics (that compared favorably with the slavocrats in the House whom the Presbyterian-led antislavery Congressional bloc was rising to countermeasure) with the deliberative ecclesiastical body in 1846. During this Assembly, the supreme judicatory passed a resolution reaffirming laws enacted earlier by the onetime united Presbyterian Denomination (in the 1787 to 1818 General Assemblies).

It declared that the human bondage convention and proslavocracy conviction is in contempt of God's "law," the "spirit and precepts" of the New Testament, and the "best interest" of mankind. Slavemasters and other White Southern members of the Northern-controlled Presbyterian Church were encouraged by influential establishmentarians to ignore resolution and remain in affiliation.

Straightaway the conflict escalated into a battle, and one in which antislavery advocates and their proslavery adversaries struggled to change each other's mind and capture the neutrals. In the beginning of this union of Northern and Southern "New School" proponents but antislavocracy and proslavocracy opponents, Southerners had the advantage of fighting for principle (respecting preserving the Southern Way of Life), political and economic real interests, and private property: an effective combination of interthreading dogma and pragma, and idealism and realism, intertied to prevent any compromise of principle. Their absolute commitment to securing human bondage, liberty-limiting dehumanization, and license in bondage in lieu of freedom turned on guaranteeing a self-determination preempted Black body. They determined it served the national interest for Black folk to be nothing but total obedience, and denied the opportunity to become self-reliant. This collective conscience formed a class at war with class over caste, and countermanded the Northerners who approached the ecclesiastical ethical issue essentially divided and in the comparatively power-deficient terms of religious and moral values, sacred theology, and secular ethics.

A key factor in the making of the minority of New Abolitionist Presbyterians into a secular and religious ecclesiastical and civil powers' critical mass was these formidable foes' fully developed appreciation of the serious proslavocracy perspective advanced by their proslavery opponents. Proabolitionists took defenders of the slavocracy both at their word and face value, and especially when the slavocrats contended they were moving from (not unquestioned but) reason-derived premises and principles: whereupon they established arbitrary laws such as the anti-Black race codes to secure their asserted interchangeable special interests and the general interest, from which capricious order they created perfectly rational rules of procedure and logical regulations to enforce.[247]

The truth and consequences of these great certainties and realities were elucidated by Birney, the former Kentucky slavemaster and lawyer turned New York politician and Presidential candidate of the Liberty Party. Possessing the credentials of a *bona fide* member of the "New School" Denomination, and the legal profession, the litigious litigator could not be fairly accused of being against professionalism in 1840 when he employed his skills as a lawyer to argue the case that the voting majority of his presbyters appeared in the perception and reality

> more solicitous to have the favor of the few slaveholders who are members, than to have the blessings of the poor who are perishing in their grasp--more earnest to equal the Old School in numbers than to outstrip it in righteousness.[248]

It followed, in theory and experience in reality necessarily that antiabolitionists would denounce proabolitionists unfair critics, would proclaim themselves Northern proslavocrats to render anathema antislavocrats whom they dismissed as malcontents, and beg the question whether or not Christian dehumanization is a contradiction in terms. Since New Abolitionists were not a preponderance within the policy-making circles of the Northern body of theological liberals, the steering committee of the "New School" General Assembly advanced automatically its

> policy of condemning slavery in general, while leaving its lower judicatories the responsibility of taking any effective action.

But proabolitionist clergy and laity--including pro-immediatist elders elected by their brethren ruling elders within the presbytery and by their constituents their Representatives in Congress--in favor of forcing Southern Presbyterian slaveholding members either to free their slaves or to leave the Denomination (that New Abolitionists believed should raise the social ethical excellence national standards) were gathering momentum.[249]

By 1853, when the antislavocracy tide of Yankee real interests was waxing, relative to the waning waves of slavocracy protectionism in the North, proabolitionist Congregationalists and Presbyterians were being heard effectively by the American Home Missionary Society (A.H.M.S.), the Domestic Mission extension of the Congregationalist Church that continued to function with interlocking directorates affiliated with the rival "Old School" and "New School" Presbyterian Denominations.

The apparent antislavocracy-proslavocracy neutral posture of A.H.M.S. (inducing the 1846-eruption of the A.M.A.--was reflected in the fact that (in addition

to Congregationalists) many "New Side" and some "Old Side" Presbyterian personnel in the Northwest remained entirely dependent upon the financial support of the A.H.M.S. In response to the increasing pressure applied by the Reformed and Orthodoxy pro-immediatists upon the A.H.M.S., whose intensification included the demand that the Society reformulate its expedient and convenient antislavery/proslavery-neutral political policy, the equally permissive and ambivalent A.H.M.S. reluctantly advised its missionaries to withdraw from any anti-abolitionist promotions and advance as antislavery professionals.

As a direct consequence, the "New School" General Assembly of 1853 (totaling 1,677 churches, 301 in the South, and 1474 clergymen, 196 in the South, among whose 150,000 members there were some 1,000 slaveholders), convening in executive session as the supreme judicatory and legislative body, enacted into law a statute mandating Presbyteries (regional judicatories subordinate to the General Assembly) within states and communities where slavery appeared to be enforced more by private preference and custom than by positive law to audit the progress toward eventual elimination of slaveholding congregants.

Seeking to monitor the extent of compliance, with the affirmative action order promulgated to create with all deliberate speed an antislaveholding set of Southern Presbyteries, the Assembly added to the constraint the specific stipulation mandating elders to report to the 1854 session of the Assembly the precise number of constituent slaveholders, slaves owned, and the status of slaves within the congregations.[250]

However, instead of conformance with spirit and compliance with the letter of the ecclesiastical order as required by Presbyterian law, law loving and abiding slavocrat legalists formed a Southern coalition which charged the Assembly with ruling beyond its constitutional authority, although the church lawyers were fully cognizant of fact that the Assembly is a self-governing body, whose limitations are those of its own making and remaking.

The effect of the nullification act was to delay rather than to prevent the time of ultimate decision, and to speed the deliberate "New School" power elite into action. They were propelled into direct action by the writing of the Reverend Albert Barnes (1789-1870): the Princeton Seminary graduate, long-time Denominational leader, and minister (1825-70) of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.

Quite like his good friend Lyman Beecher, Barnes was an early convert to the ACS: whose active ranks he also left while retaining its accomodationist spirit. But, unlike Beecher and other more rigid than flexible traditionalists who could not admit they embraced a compromise of a (nonnegotiable rather than of a negotiable) principle, Barnes urged his "New School" Southern brethren to suffer gladly the antislaveholding demand and act out of necessity in compliance with the spirit and letter of the law: since the contested new nonslaveholding rule was certain to be legally reaffirmed and reinforced. Analyzing the facts and figures, whose evincement of the irreversible rising power of proabolitionists in positions of influence in 1856, Barnes wrote his published book on *The Church and Slavery* (1857).

In this work, Barnes implored Southerners not only to remain in the Denomination but to sacrifice their real interests and values to higher principles, and to exclude slaveholders from their churches. Straightaway Barnes' position was summarily dismissed by the Southern constituency as equally unrealistic and irreverent, irrelevant and illegal, and immoral and unChristian. The slavocrat answer was formulated by the Reverend Frederick Augustus Ross of Huntsville,

Alabama, who wrote (in 1857) a *Letter* to Barnes stating the *Position of the Southern Church in Relation to Slavery*, and his own book entitled *Slavery Ordained by God* (1857).[251]

Barnes' antislavery impulse barely found public expression before the 1857 "New School" General Assembly was issued a bill of proslavocracy particulars, by the Mississippi Lexington Presbytery. The counterindoctrination design specified the number of pro-choice and antiabolitionist Southern Presbyterian parsons and parishioners who affirmed--with their ruling elders and stated clerks--slavery as the Gospel Order of and for the pro-White race/ethnic religion of anti-Black race interest.

They cast this centuries-long White Protestant American belief into a logical principle: whose fusion of dogmatic secular ideology and sacred theology translated the Southern Way of Life into a rational cultural "doctrine," one equal in status and validity with the Westminster Confession for religious life and profane moral conduct.

Southern Presbyterians forced Northerners to evaluate the nature, function, and meaning of their real interests and values priorities, and their highest principle (pain-devoid pleasure). Preferring exciting wrong to boring right, and to find satisfaction in the immediate rewards of history to seeking escape from the at best uncertain punishment of eternity, the Southern slavocrats left the "New School" General Assembly of divided Northern antislavocrats and proslavocrats no alternative to debating the Southern doctrine of the dogmatic Puritan ideology and Calvinist theology apropos anti-Black race virtue. The Assembly voted (169 to 26) to reject the Southern interpretation and to recommend reconsideration of the special pleading by their proslavocracy brethren.

Proslavocrat Southerners chose not to reconsider but to leave the antislavocracy-dominant Northern Denomination: and to organize the "New School" United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. at Knoxville, Tennessee (April 1858). Their new New School Synod struggled to maintain its independence--from the powerful "Old School" Assembly--with whom it differed regarding dogmatic theology rather than ecclesiastical polity, but shared the doctrinaire ideology and policy promulgated by the 1838 Old School General Assembly after it expelled (in 1837) the "New School" branch of the previously united Reformed Calvinist Church:

> Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention, it is of the greatest consequence to the best interests of our church, that the subject of slavery shall not be agitated or discus in the sessions of the ensuing General Assembly, and if any motion shall be made, or resolution offered, touching the same, this Convention is of the opinion that the members of Convention in that body ought to unite in disposing it, as far as may be possible, without debate.[252]

A decade earlier, Northern New Abolitionist Presbyterians had coalesced as Congressional Insurgents and formed the Antislavery Bloc which effectively rendered impotent the gag rules on free speech that Southern Presbyterians like Henry Clay and John Caldwell Calhoun joined other proslavocracy expansionists in enforcing. Apparently the checked civil cancellation of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly (that Lyman Beecher enticed New England Congregationalist clergy to imitate) found life after death in the ecclesiastical judicatories of the Protestant Episcopal Church and the "Old School" Presbyterian Denomination.

PROSLAVOCRACY "OLD SCHOOL" PRESBYTERIANS

By suppressing debate the (Northern-dominated and Southern-oriented) "Old School" General Assembly (matching if not exceeding the effectiveness of the General Assembly of the Protestant Episcopal Church) silenced its Northern-specific antislavery few. As a result of this dramatic performance, eventually a sufficient number of the "New School" New Synod Presbyteries affiliated with the preeminent Presbyterian body to make up in at least monolithic deference for the congregational losses resulting from the formation of the Northern "New School" General Assembly.

In the end, the Northern-Southern united Old School Assembly separated only as a result of secession (as did the Episcopalians).

The separation resulted in the formation of the "Old School" Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States (1861), whose Denomination was joined in 1864 by the Southern New School Synod.[253]

Theological divisions could not withstand the loyalty test of American Civil Religion, the bottom line of the establishment Reformed Presbyterian Synods on either side of the American crisis and dilemma.

New School Presbyterian Joel Parker's successor--as minister of the New Orleans First Presbyterian Church some years later--was the native South Carolinian and masterful voice of Southern "Old School" Presbyterianism, the Reverend Benjamin Morgan Palmer (1818-1902).

Following the November 1860 election of Republican Abraham Lincoln, the erstwhile Federalist native of Pennsylvania but long time conservative Democrat, President (1857-61) James Buchanan (1791-1868), found himself in a powerless position faced with a rebellious South. Buchanan was the only bachelor elected Chief Executive, an observant Presbyterian, and an able lawyer dedicated to preserving the Union whose soul he equated with keeping the antislavocracy/proslavocracy "sacred balance."

Instantly Buchanan declared the secessionist ploys of the Confederates unlawful, and redoubled his conciliatory efforts which proved unpersuasive. In this condition of extreme tension as Chief Executive of a state engergized by high intensity and high anxiety, on the verge of suffering a civil schism with greater negative consequences than those which followed from the earlier ecclesiastical division of his Church, Buchanan underscored the traditional Thanksgiving Proclamation and used his "bully pulpit" to implore the churches to be especially prayerful for the national security.

Palmer dutifully responded with his Thanksgiving Sermon for *The South: Her Peril, and Her Duty* (delivered on Thursday, November 29, 1860). In his political disquisition the partisan parson rhetorically requested his congregation to bear witness to one truth: "I have never intermeddled with political questions."

On the contrary, the aggressive Scotch-Irish presbyter in the mode of Samuel Davies a century earlier avowed that "the party questions which have hitherto divided the political world, have seemed to me to involve no issue sufficiently momentous to warrant my turning aside, even for a moment, from my chosen calling."

Palmer set his jaw to announce that the current crisis changed conditions so drastically as to make

> it imperative upon me as a Christian and a divine to speak in language admitting no misconstruction,

and to announce "that hour has come" when "it is not lawful to be still" but necessary to "state the duty which, as I believe, patriotism and religion require of us all":[254]

> A nation often has a character as well defined and intense as that of the individual....But, however derived, this individuality of character alone makes any people truly historic, competent to work out its specific mission, and to become a factor in the world's progress....If then the South is such a people, what, at this juncture, is their provisional trust? I answer, that it is to *conserve and to perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery as now existing*.[255]

No more eloquent pro-war Presbyterian voice was heard or more greater manifestation of ritualistic revelation and reason religion transpired throughout the length and breadeth of the deep South before or after this celebration. Palmer rose to the occasion and appeared the self-revelation of the authentic Christian charity and chastity charioteer South Carolina and other White Southerners, who selected a favorite Black Southerner either for favors and favorite as well as special treatment and/or both for intimate intercourse and a significant other on the one hand, and, on the other hand, selectively cast out of the care and concern charity circle as a member of the invisible outcaste crowd another color captive/caste captivity-caught brother or sister (to say little of son or daughter) in Christ and culture.

Pariah class dematerialization remained, of course, a phenomenon as difficult to visualize as was it impossible for White Southern Presbyterians and compeer Protestants to behold Black people as human beings of independent thought. They found it difficult to consider Black males and females in their right mind who elected to fight to secure self-determination with freedom in liberty, and easy to engage them as slaves primarily and as lovable personal property secondarily. Foremost first and last always, they were cherished color chattel as highly valued as any other material (real estate) or physical (cattle and beasts of burden) if not more highly than spiritual (soul) property:

> The worst foes of the black race are those who have intermeddled in their behalf. We know better than others that every attribute of their character fits them for dependence and servitude. By nature the most affectionate and loyal of all races beneath the sun, they are also the most helpless....Indeed the experiment has been gradually tried of precipitating them upon freedom which they know not how to enjoy....Their transportation to Africa, even if it were feasible, would be but the most refined cruelty...Their residence here, in the presence of the vigorous Saxon race, would be but the signal for their rapid extermination before they had time to waste away through listlessness, filth and vice. Freedom would be their doom....My servant, whether born in my house or bought with my money, stands to me in the relation of a child. Though providentially, I am bound to exact, he is, nevertheless, my brother and my friend; and I am to him a guardian and a father. He leans upon me for protection, for counsel, and for blessing; and so long as the relation continues no power, but the power of Almighty God, shall

come between him and me.[256]

Such a powerful wish necessarily involved a promise of a future rather more than it reflected a past fear or current threat. Consequently, Palmer's representative Southern self-fulfilling prophecy inevitably survived the Civil War and surfaced in the postbellum period prior to soaring into full flight during Reconstruction.

One hallmark of this positive negation of the admitted Black race cultural kin-group inhered in White Southerners' beating Black Southerners up and forcing them out rather less than in their driving down Black self-determinationists White folk could not talk out of demanding entrance into the participatory democracy process, elementary access to the decision-making mechanisms of the system, and basic rights and responsibilities prerequisites for securing life-enhancing over death-enhancing chances.

As one who confidently spoke for the South, Palmer reinforced this critical imposition of non-representation upon the Black race. In the process, the presbyter effectively raised the principle of dehumanization to the level of a categorical imperative.

In the last antebellum days, Palmer preached to Southerners a doctrine of duty to maintain the Southern Way of Life that he proclaimed a "providential trust" of the highest "solemnity," pontifically decreed the "first law" of inherent "supremacy over all others," to wit, the "principle of self-preservation."

His posited premise was not the obvious fact that life is the essence that precedes existence. It was an unmistakable and measurable misconstruction of the Golden Rule whose perversity reversed the meaning and measure along with the spirit of the Christian ethic--that is, *agape*-love of God, the neighbor-enemy, and oneself coinstantaneously.

Instead of associating his adopted and adapted perverse principle of vitalism with either profane hedonism or secular ego-centered individualism, vitalist Palmer marketed as the ethical jewel in the moral crown of benevolent paternalism partisan power politics ways and military might means of sustaining the Southern Way of Life. The Palmeresque might makes right value correlated with the vice of mental cruelty and corporeal punishment control of the physical body device-overriding virtue, subsisting of rational rule and total command achieved through the expert employment of pyschology-pervasive professional power and discipline.

According to his admonitions, the worth of his systematic and systemic social engineering means-ends appreciated commensurate with the effective function of Protestant slavemasters in the role of Christian servants, and therein primarily through self-enlightened charity beginning at home with abundant caring service "as the constituted guardians of the slaves themselves," and spreading abroad from the enhancement of Black bondage to Christianized involuntary servitude's enrichment of "*the civilized world*."

Palmer managed to deny the brutal benevolence outcome of his power of positive thinking public policy, whose process and program he set in a revitalized ratiocinative structure to induce slavemasters to become benevolent Black bondage barons. The extraordinary power void in the Black community was the vacuum that Palmer proclaimed Protestant power ethicists were responsible to fill. It the power need of the Black powerless abided also as the meaning and measure of White race directed disinterested will to the good--or positive good for the Black race--and remained the fundamental need of the "truly needy"

that he elected to avoid.

The consequences of his cruelty-correcting, narrow-scoped, and limited charity/chasity thought and action were predictable and patently plain. They resulted in negative good so devitalized that negation of good, proliferating as contracting harm-limiting and expanding positive harm, was the effect caused by his perfectly executed bypass of positive good. By utilizing this method of managing reality through securing mediocrity, the nature and function of the rule that necessarily followed from demanding a risk-secure or risk-free Southern section of the Union's risk-intensive political economy, Palmer reduced *agape*-love to cost-conscious charity; cost/benefit calculated charity to self-serving benevolence; and deficient benevolence to charity devoid of prime needs-serving magnanimity. The Palmeresque principle commenced as deterence-benevolence and ended up brutal benevolence.

Whence protecting real interests and securing slaves and the slave system was the base motive, means, and ends of the benevolence-paternalism ethic of the benevolent paternalists of whom Palmer was a representative figure.

Reversing the *agape*-love/power/justice Christian ethic (advancing the best known right and good possible of God/neighbor-enemy/self), Palmer settled on excuse and for the prevention of corporeal and cerebral cruelty to color chattel (on par with not inflicting cruel and unusual punishment on other animal) property, humane human experimentation, and the human use of human bondage. In the Palmeresque Southern Manifesto, self-determination for the Black man was set forth as exactly the real need that the Good Samaritan should pass by on the other side. His failure was exceeded only by his success in confusing by essaying to fuse the secular Golden Mean and sacred Golden Rule--an exercise in futility springing from the notion that because they are mutually fertile rather than mutually fertile they are complementaries only and not contraries also--and in turning inside out and on its head the *agape*-love/power/justice Christian ethic.

On this day of national gratitude and grace when the Scotch-Irishman transmogrifried and appeared to the appearances the evincement of his British ethnic ancestors reputed aggressive pugilistic propensities, and the convincement of the true Confederate or real Cavalier so enraged and engaged as a slavocrat as to equate existing for gore and glory with being for and not against God and good, Palmer's Barbados-born Englishman (Creole) crosstown clerical compeer and rector (1852-82) of Christ Episcopal Church, the Reverend William Thomas Leacock (1796-1884),* also rose from obscurity to prominence.

An Oxford-educated immigrant ordained a deacon (1822) and priest (1824) by the Bishop of London, Leacock, proceeded on a perilous parallel plane and a par with a statistically significant number of Northern and Southern Mother Church of England-derived Anglicans transformed Episcopalians, truly loved the Confederates and hated as much as he feared the Yankees. But the new England-oriented Confederates (like their Patriots-challenging Loyalist or Tory fathers)

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* The fullest factual and favorable assessment of the Anglicanism and Anglicization good fit between the English parish priest and parishioner anglophiles is accessible in the anglophobia-averting essay by Hodding Carter and Betty Werlein Carter, wherein their appreciation of rector Leacock appears throughout the tenure of his office, entitled *So Great A Good: A History of the Episcopal Church in Louisiana and of Christ Church Cathedral 1805-1955* (1955).

and their Southern Confederacy confronted the sons of the "saints," who, as the perceived reembodied old New England Confederacy and manifest essence of the friend of my fugitive foe is my enemy mind-set in total command and absolute control of the asserted Kingdom of God and Cotton Kingdom equivalence, suddenly and unexpectedly appeared formidable Freedom Fighters.

The unanticipated presence in the Southern port city of Northern ships and disembarking White and Black Union troops was sufficient to guarantee Leacock's emigré license, and absence as either a coward who did not have the courage of his convictions or a conscientious objector escaping persecution for his civil conscience. Leacock fled from the hostile and nearly corrigible city to Canada for the duration, when New Orleans fell (1862) to Admiral David Glasgow Farragut (1801-70) and was occupied by the Union Army commanded by Military Governor and General Benjamin Franklin Butler (1818-93.

Two years earlier, at the outset of the War, before the overt counterintelligence operative elected flight or to fight "no more forever" either with or for the Confederates and chose not to cooperate with the Union agents, Leacock communicated his conscience as he identified with concerned congregants and his New Orleans parish prior to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist:

> But a few weeks. ago, I counseled you, from this place, to avoid all precipitant action; but at the same time to take determined action--such action only you felt you could take with the conscious support of reason and religion. I give that counsel still. But I am one of you. I feel as a Southerner. Southern honor is my honor. Southern degradation is my degradation. Let no man mistake my meaning or call my words idle. As a Southerner, then, I will speak, and I give it as my firm and unhesitating belief, that nothing is left but secession....We have yet friends in the North, but they can not act for us till we have acted for ourselves; and it would be as pusillanimous in us to desert our friends as to cower before our enemies. To advance is to secure our rights; to recede, is to lay our fortunes, our honor, our liberty, under the feet of our enemies. I know the consequences of such a course, unless guided by discretion, are perilous. But, peril our fortunes, peril our lives, but, come what may, let us never peril our liberty and our honor. I am willing, at the call of my honor and my liberty to die a freeman; but I'll never, no, never, live a slave; and the alternative now presented by our enemies is secession or slavery. Let it be liberty or death![257]

Doubtless the crisis compelled Leacock to jettison the unique Christian obligation to love the enemy, that is, the Black male whom he refused to exchange conditions with or set at liberty. Doubtless he would not admit his firm opposition to his formidable foes was of pale insignificance compared to the demand of the Confederate that Black men rise to the occasion and demonstrate grace under pressure and glorify God by delighting in their involuntary

> servitude station that the White male could not consider an honorable state for either Yankees or Cavaliers. Strange to tell, it was not Leacock's concise declaration of anti-Black race vice and pro-White race virtue that incited the Southern Christian establishment

to rally behind the Confederacy.

Palmer turned this American Civil Religion corner in the South when he stepped forward to swear that in the struggle "*we defend the cause of God and Religion*"; to certify that in the 1860 Presidential election ballots were cast "for a candidate who is sectional, who represents a party that is sectional, and the ground of sectionalism, prejudice against the established and constitutional rights and immunities and institutions of the South"; and to declare that "this Union of our forefathers is already gone"; and announce: "I throw off the yoke of this Union as readily as did our ancestors the yoke of King George III."

Whether his remarks were too late for Buchanan or too early for Lincoln to heed, Palmer was at once provocative and provoking in unctuously forecasting with absolute certainty that the "abolition spirit is undeniably atheistic," and President-elect Lincoln will not "prove a cure for any our ills."

Fully in his orbit and beyond control, pastor Palmer incited the excitable to riot as he raged in a specious manner that gave righteous indignation a bad name: The "issue is upon; let us meet it like men and end this strife forever." Equally aggressive and contemptuous, Palmer left no reasonable doubt that he was fully satisfied and confident:

> I have done my duty under as deep a sense of responsibility to God and man as I have ever felt. Under a full conviction that the salvation of the whole country is depending upon the action of the South, I am impelled to deepen the sentiment of resistance in the Southern mind, and to strengthen the current now flowing towards a union of the South, in defense of her charter rights.[258]

Virtually the moment after the belligerent Scotch-Irish presbyter had delivered his bellicose--that passed for the mind of the South and Southern grace under pressure and the cover of gratitude--it was in the hands of the proslavocracy New Orleans *Daily Delta*. The newspaper reprinted the Palmeresque call to arms in its entirety several times, and as a pamphlet: in which medium the message and method of the messenger was disseminated throughout the South. As a result of this widespread distribution of his Southern prophecy, Presbyterian Palmer became a celebrity in the Confederacy: whose Christian call to "battle" was perhaps matched but unsurpassed in its Evangelical effect upon secessionist zeal.

OLD SCHOOL TIES OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANS AND FREEDMEN

Antebellum Northern and Southern "Old School" Presbyterians were bound by their mutual respect and proslavocrat ties. They were not broken, when, in 1861 for reasons of higher political sectional than national sectarian loyalty, Southerners abandoned the Northern-led Denomination to establish the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States. Irrefragably, Confederate Presbyterians left the Northern and Princeton-oriented General Assembly more disappointed than either despairing or embarrassed by their slavocrat faithfulness. This proslavocrat/pro-Confederate brotherhood bind remained strong in the "Old School" until the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation. Incontrovertibly, the Northern "Old School" Church did not become avowedly pro-Union formally until its 1864 General As-

sembly authorized the formation of the Committee for the Education of the Freedmen.

Some weeks before the Committee's evolvement into a Northern church bureaucracy, American Presbyterians' post-War missionization among their Southern Black constituency was furthered solely by Southerners: who were Scotch-Irish ethnic churchmen preponderantly, and thoroughly committed to maintaining and increasing their Black Presbyterian membership in the South.

Their only precondition was the proviso mandating that their Black Reformed Church congregants were to remain in their place and to stay in what they did not need to be reminded was their antebellum-fixed station in the postbellum period, that is, to survive devoid of self-determination and elected representatives in secular and sacred power politics bodies; deprived of profane and religious liberty and freedom of conscious; precluded from church and civil privileges; excluded from power circles and power sharing participatory churchocracy and democracy, controlled by White presbyters; and segregated in local biracial churches and subordinate or neither seen nor heard within the central church governance structure of the Denomination.

As the absence of liberty, Black presence in the Southern Reformed Church was promoted in the parochial, private, and public circles by Presbyterian social redeemers as the perfect substitute for equal access to competitive political power, economic opportunity, legal recourse, education in elementary schools, and ecclesiastical and civil rights and responsibilities.[259]

Clearly Confederate Christians like non-Christians were stunned by the unexpected solidity of Yankee steel, which penetrated the boasted invincible armor of the Cavaliers and pierced their supersensitive skin deep enough to addle the wits.

Whence Confederate Presbyterians in the new New South, frustrated and furious over the loss of their highly prized color chattel property, predeliberately moved directly away from a knee-jerk reaction and vicious vindictiveness to a rock and roll rhythm of freedmen deliverance from ignorance, poverty, and disease.

Badly beaten black and blue but not defeated by the blue, the resilient and rebounding less gay gray's new style and old substance of color caste class constraints were preset in cast iron structures that consolidated cold calculating charity in church corporations, which unrepentant Confederates fashioned into a moral weapon for total command and control of a total institution (planned parochial plant planted to prosper in place of the private plantation perforce the neither dead nor buried nor forgotten previous "peculiar institution").

Their arsenal for adversity, and averting disaster and democracy in the aftermath of the slavocracy and Confederacy, comprised more sophisticated mind-control rather than matter-mutilating but no less deadly weapons.

They included spiritual-coated narcotics that nutritionists substituted for natural nature and nurture nutrients; rationed amid the starved masses like daily bread both to feed the spiritual hunger and to curb the power hunger drive of those hungered and thirst after right and righteousness; distributed rationally to generate the need and to supply the demand to guarantee the great grace and generous gifts were delivered graciously and received gratefully; peddled to make new converts and old congregants junkies apropos the market-tested and proven grounds that addicts are the best market and marketeers as well as demand and supply source of an ever-expanding market; pushed to feed the habit of the hooked; and marketed not to stone but as effectively as they left Black

folk stoned recipients of sectarian charity.

Determined not to appear in the public perception an afflicted body licking their wounds and nursing their wounded pride, Confederate Presbyterians chose to flourish by flaunting their prejudices and making freedmen their flouting-stock. This contribution of Reformed Confederates, concerned to provide the sons of the South a positive substitute for sour grapes and teeth set on edge, these American Civil Religion masters and role models performers effectually designed to demonstrate their perfect attunement with the revised rationalized Southern Way of Life: whose old master over slave and new class over caste cultural pattern they cut their social conscience to fit.

Perceiving Presbyterian parson and parishioner planters turned planned political economy professionals as the neither flawed nor unpolished but tarnished jewel of conscience in the crown of Jim Crow, or their boasted crowning power and glory Southern Way of Life and glistening gem of Columbia, the fashionable fashioned their fragrant and flounced fixes for the Flibbertigibbet: not to fixate but to fix the form and function of their floored flock figures so that the forceless could not figure the facts foreclosed by the forehanded forceful fleshpots.

Harriet Beecher Stowe's self-fulfilling prophecy, of an imbecile child-man (Uncle Tom) and child-mother (little Eva) Black race in her rational racial romance, not only survived her *cause célèbre* (and time and space) and came to roost and rest with "Consistent Calvinists" (after she converted to an Episcopalian) but was rationalized by realist Calvinist cousins of the idealist, whom she thought made her "back to Africa" point stick: which they thought was so far from grace and glory and near to gore and greed as to be gross negligence boarding on crass, coercive, cruel and unusual punishment of their color caste class whom they liked better than she loved, she loved better than she liked, and they loved and liked for better or worse; better or worse than their betters; and better or worse than they believed but worse than better than they were able (or willing to admit).

The selective incursion soldiers of Christ figured their flesh and blood were no more fraudulently fractured and fragmented by fragrance control than the presbyter framers of the frame-up were flagrantly violent violators of the Black body--like the Ku Klux Klan and other vicious violence victimizers perpetrating gang rape of the color caste class--intruding in the Black space to preempt their place in the body politic, body corporate, and body of Christ.

It is a high probability that the obvious effects of Presbyterian rationalized intentions and purposes were apparent to the movers and moved. The inspired intentionalists and champion consequentialists doubtless knew their critics as well as they understood that the negative consequences of their update Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethic were no less real for being either logical rationalizations of their real interests and outcome or outcome of specious reasoning and spurious reasons spurring suspicious rational thought and action.

This Presbyterian program for programmed presbyterians checked their color caste class, by professionally designed liabilities cancelling out benefits but not debts to slaves transformed freedmen, and was less incredible than remarkable: particularly as the portfolio of promises and guaranteed keys to success appeared an investment in counterbalancing the lively and preferred real interests of Black Calvinist victims rather more than beneficiaries of the benevolent Jim Crow system Presbyterian professionals managed.

But the dramatic performances of competitive color caste class Calvinists occurred in full view of Northern and Southern Presbyterian powerhouses (and sometimes purely and simply as a result of the more rare and distinctive than reliable and realistic support that power elite Calvinists contributed to exceptional Black males) throughout the antebellum and Civil War periods, the first two post-War years when White Southerners were near-absolute control of their land and political economy as well as their culture destiny, and the subsequent decade when Northerners dominated the Radical Reconstruction of the South bright and brief experiment in biracial democracy.

Southern Presbyterian experimentalism turned from human experimentation to experimental use of human being in their parochial apartheid experiment, and biracial polity that copied the secular and civil separate and unequal Jim Crow policy. The experiment in class over caste Christianity and civility yielded such poor sectarian dividends for the Denomination--commencing prior to Reconstruction when Southern White Democrats firmly held in their hands the power determinants of their immediate future--that the "Old School" Southerners were prepared to receive proposals for more effective biracial tactics and strategies.

They were developed by presbyters and presented to the Southern Presbyterian General Assembly (initially in 1866 and subsequently in 1869), which refused on both occasions to support alternative affirmative action policies and procedures.

One consequence of their more rigid than flexible response to the opportunity freedmen represented--whom they officially affirmed as neither a problem nor the White Man's burden nor sisters-in-law but brothers in Christ--was painfully clear to the ruling class. By the 1890s, the Field Secretary of Colored Evangelistic Work reported to his Southern Presbyterian Denomination that their Church had managed to reduce Colored Calvinists to seven hundred congregants, who were ruled by no more than two dozen White ruling elders.[260]

Southern Benevolent paternalists in the "Old School" Reformed Church coveted their Black Presbyterian parishioners. They commissioned professional systems analyses to search and find the cause of these poor dividends from their serious investments in the American future of Black brethren, and rejected each finding because the ruling class preferred not to concur in the calculations dictating the conclusions drawn by the analysts and to argue that the failure of their systematic and systemic total control stratagem was due neither to the unproductive value of their anti-Black race interest securities nor to the bad management of their ecclesiastical stock nor to the poor performance of the deterrence-benevolence market on the American Civil Religion exchange.

The dwindling yield and diminished returns were analyzed as carefully as the results were predictable and the worse conclusion imaginable selected by the cost-conscious presbyters.

They concluded that their reversal in fortune was precipitated by former "Old School" ties, commenced with the arrival of the missionaries sent by the Northern Committee on Freedmen, and seemed unconvinced by the point commissioned analysts made who argued that Northern brethren may not have been as effective as they were determined to guarantee that their sponsored "New Side" and "Old Side" lay and clergy missionary-educators shared values and priorities preferred by Southerners.

Before the Civil War, Southern White Protestants could not credit Black men with sufficient human beingness to desire liberty naturally. They charged the slaves' inclination to secure self-determination, and failing their essay to pursue

freedom as fugitives, to the negative-field presence of New Abolitionists: whom they equated with radical Yankee-Puritans because they thought Black women and men born in either the South or the North lacked the competence to become what their White sisters and brothers were, namely, not subjective but either objective objectivist and/or both objective subjectivist and objective subjective independent-minded social critics.

What persisted over Southern Presbyterian and compeer Confederates' demands for permanent White-race dominant and Black-race subordinate existence in separate and unequal stations as clearly and consistently as Black folk were visible members of the indivisible whole Black body was their preference for mutual respect, mutually fertile power, and equal access to competitive Constitutionalism/Calvinism/Capitalism-controlled Congress (election of representatives), Church (ecclesiastical enterprises), and Corporation (economic opportunity).

They fought in all wars for the survival of a whole way of life in North America from the New England Confederacy through the Southern Confederacy struggles, for the Union and the Confederacy, and in a state of mind bent on participation in the political and fiscal system of republicanism, which the centrist consensus of the color caste leadership class distinguished as biracial egalitarianism from either assimilation or amalgamation social equality.

Such consequential historic certainties and current realities revelation and reason relating Calvinist Confederates somehow managed to deprecate as fervid fiction and fantasy, and as if these empirically verifiable facts and figures were depreciating and not appreciating potent myths and rituals, symbols and substances, and forms and functions in reality.

These misinformationists and disinformationists succeeded in perpetrating this error of deception upon the public perpetually, in spite of the towering images of productive Black presbyter-politicians: whose earned reputation as men of mastery in maneuvering secular and religious power levers within ecclesiastical and civil power circles was unknown to only the blind, deaf, and dumb American.

Creative, industrious, and productive Black men and women of immense imagination to match their ample ambition proliferated as a positive sign of their willingness and capacity to assume responsibility, to enjoy God-given natural rights and man-granted artificial privileges, and to accept the risks of liberty in freedom with justice and power.

Yet the self-determination, pluralism, and equalitarian demands driving Black males and females could not be the dictates of their natural right to life and the pursuit of happiness.

These demanding desires of the color caste class had to be for pariah class progenitors the out-put from the in-put of manipulative mind control, superimposed by carpetbaggers employing counterindoctrination techniques to check unfairly Confederates' counterinfluence.

Antiabolitionist aristocrats and anti-Reconstructionist Republocrats were rationalists justified by faith in reason who knew why they argued with (instead of) facts that argued the truth they termed error because they found the subject and object as objectionable as the subjective and objective ultimate objective: White and Black Old and New Abolitionist fathers and sons and their Radical Reconstructionist descendants did not create the need but generated and supplied the *agape*-love/power/justice demand and motive, means, and opportunity of *Fraternity, Liberty, and Equality*.

JONATHAN GIBBS: BLACK NORTHERN NEW SCHOOL PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER-MISSIONARY

Colored Calvinist clergy challenged countermarching clerical Confederates and Confederate-sympathizers to recall that demonstrable nonsense is arguing with the facts and figures. One fact was that Reconstruction era Black Protestant men and women were often the first and foremost party power politics partisan parson and parishioner leaders in their communities, to exercise leadership and form the consensus behind their initiatives, and to champion the idea that Black folk should not wait and pray for time but should seize the unprecedented time of shared values and power sharing to produce wealth and distribute the benefits fairly.

Sharing the alternately contracting and expanding economic pie and a piece of the American dream, that Confederate Democrats called a nightmare and Radical Republicans turned momentarily into reality by their superimposition of Reconstruction, was the beautiful truth that Northern proslavocrat Southern slavocrat anti-Reconstruction firm friends through thick and thin, and formidable foes of Black folk's legitimate claims, absolutely denied in the antebellum and postbellum eras, precisely because these Black race true values and real interests were in conflict with their preferred arrangement of White race/ethnic males' priorities and principles, privileges and preferences, and real interests and values.

Power and powerless White males were divided classes who united as the majority race against the minority race and perpetrated a hoax upon American republic that was the worse errors of conception, perception, and deception imaginable. They argued as protectors of their prerogatives and privileges that Black men and women who demonstrated initiative by forming the consensus behind their leadership were not the class of the native North American Black race but dematerialized African bodies (zombies and robots) materialized and transplanted, transformed puppets, and totally possessed and controlled by European minds.

Confederate cultural determiners reminded skeptics that this notion emerged from the White folk mind reflecting on experience with and recording oral history of Black folk as faithfully as Waldo Emerson and Harriet Beecher Stowe, who reported that the rhythmic Black characters of their published prose issuing from their imagination danced in the streets of Charleston and Cincinnati before their eyes. Thus Southern intellectual claimed these Black figures were as real as folklore and not wishful thinking, for, if wishes were brooms, witches would fly

In the context of this Southern White folk tale that was so forceful it produced fantasies which were instantly transformed into overpowering fancies, and critics considered a classic instance when perception is reality, the dramatic performances of masterful Black folk were not denied but rationalized by their rationalistic adversaries whose logic transmogrified them into the flash in the pan fanciful figures they fancied as confirmations of their prejudices.

In more and less imaginative ways, White Northern and Southern social reactionaries interpreted the empirically validated and verifiable achievements of forceful Black leaders as irrefutable evidence proving their charge that unnatural Northern White radicals were directing mindless Black bodies. This distortion of truth by managers of reality, upsprang from their depth perception and great perspective as a curious but characteristic complaint, disclosed the fact

that White Southern secular and religious racists believed remote control of Black people to be their exclusive prerogative.

Antebellum Cavalier slavocrats' full faith and credit in Northern Yankee proslavocrats was so solid that they bet not only their plantations but their mansions on their fellow agents of dehumanization, and only lost because they both underestimated the antislavocrats and failed to appreciate the truth that one or the other but not both of their slave-labor versus free-labor competing political economies in the West could endure in one body politic.

Appearing to be congentially-conditioned cautious and conservative Southerners, if only culture-conduced brash and brazen Cavalier braggarts, the unrepentant Confederates evinced neither White "Christian shame" nor embarrassment over their unconditional surrender. Nevertheless, the fine line between going mad and being mad separating getting mad and getting even seemed to be approached--as nearly as they were driven close to paranoia the more they reflected on their fatal miscalculation of Yankee power.

Doubtless this aftereffect was one reason why Confederates failed to consider carefully the beneficial implications of the reunification of the North and the South, and particularly that the reunion was based on the replacement of the Union-long dual patterns with a single political and economic system whereby the divided sections united to form not only a more perfect but also a new Union as certainly as a New South was an aftergrowth of the War between the States.

It was also a precipitating cause of the loyal gray class' slow recall in the afterglow of the Civil War the enduring truth they risked their life and limb on in the antebellum era, to wit, Southeastern aristocrat and Northeastern patrician Englishmen shared values that kept them united kith and kin even when shared power divided the Anglo-Americans. This lesson was nearly but not entirely lost on the Southern anti-Reconstructionists. But they relearned it soon enough in the course of Reconstruction, whose cause threatened to overturn their Southern Way of Life, and prior to end of Reconstruction and the civil rights and civil liberties of the Southern Black masses. At this turning point, from high Christianity and civility to the century-long "*Black Nadir*," concerned citizens enlightened by heightened consciousness and higher and committed to eternal vigilance discovered no real alternative to accepting the facts and figures demonstrating conclusively that Northern and Southern establishmentarians fought against biracial egalitarianism and for hyperexclusivity.

Between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of Reconstruction, when the vulnerable condition of the critical mass among the freedmen who were recently released from enforced laws prohibiting Black Southerners from learning the three R's in a legitimate private or parochial as well as public environment, there was enough plausibility in rational Confederate's rationalization of state racism to obscure the essential fallacy in their argument.

Their argument argued erroneously that what follows in logic and therefore in life is the Black race--whom in their slavocracy meticulous slavocrats particularly created one people property "peculiar institution" to secure in ignorance, poverty, and powerlessness, and defined an undifferentiated whole or Black body of irremediable male and female members.

Antebellum Black leaders born or based in the North formed Underground Railroad and overground oversetting Black Church linkages with the leadership class of Black free and slave Southerners in the South, who elected self-liberation; took flight as fugitives from legal injustice; headed toward the Promised

Land to secure their liberty in freedom; and returned as Conductors of kith and kin Passengers. Some of these Black Northern and Southern clergy and laity joined the Union Army, and fought on the front lines against a finite fraction of slaves and a host of slavemasters who soldiered for the Confederate Army.

A statistically significant number of these north of the Mason and Dixon Line free-born and freed male and female church leaders elected to accept their selection when they were called and chosen by mid-bellum to mid-Reconstruction church and state authorities, who canvassed the Colored community soliciting civilians' civil assistance to the freedmen, and initially moved into the South as missionaries, ministers, and educators.

Among the representative Black women and men of mark whose demonstrable initiative entailed risk-replete as well as entrepreneurial exercises in self-liberation and taking responsibility for the consequences of their rational radical thought and action, a few were Presbyterians. One of these presbyters who stood out in the front ranks of the leadership group was the Reverend Jonathan Clarkson Gibbs (1821-74), who succeeded Henry Highland Garnet as minister of the Liberty Street Presbyterian Church in Troy, New York. During his tenure in this post, Gibbs accepted his appointment and convened with the one hundred and forty-four delegates--from eighteen states (including Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee)--to the National Convention of Colored Citizens of the United States, that assembled at Syracuse, New York (October 4, 1864). The Convention

> Resolved, That we extend the right hand of fellowship to the freedmen of the South, and express to them our warmest sympathy, and our deep concern for their welfare, prosperity, and happiness; and desire to exhort them to shape their course toward frugality, the accumulation of property, and above all, to leave untried no amount of effort and self-denial to acquire knowledge, and to secure a vigorous moral and religious growth. We desire, further, to assure them of our co-operation and assistance; and that our efforts in their behalf shall be given without measure, and be limited only by our capacity to give, work and act.[261]

Frederick Douglass served as president of the Convention, which honored reflected his role as the consensus first among equals in the leadership group of Black Americans. And he was surrounded by many of the Black host who had advocated civil liberties and civil rights for Black and White folk for a generation, and by a company comprising the class of the new generation of leaders who would play key roles in Reconstruction.

Gibbs departed Troy to relocate in Charleston, South Carolina as a Presbyterian missionary. In this capacity he served as presbyter of an all-Black congregation, previously formed and led by all-White Southern Presbyterian elders, the Zion Presbyterian Church.

The military government of the Union Army returned the parish to all-White Presbyterian control in 1866 when Gibbs sued unsuccessfully under the first United States Civil Rights Act (1866), the Radical Republican Legislature's enacted but unenforceable law that was instantly tested before the Supreme Court presided over by Chief Justice (1864-73) Salmon Portland Chase (1808-73) and subsequently declared unConstitutional by the Chase Court.[262]

Prior to this experience, Gibbs had attended as an official conventioneer the

Colored People's Convention of the State of South Carolina (convened in Charleston, November 22-25, 1865).50

In their address to the White citizens, the Black political body asked "for no special privileges, or peculiar favors" but appealed to the fairness doctrine and prayed for "even-handed justice." Earlier, the original post-War South Carolina Constitutional Convention had denied Black South Carolinians the franchise, and equal access to the courts even for petitioning its protection of their persons and property. The first postbellum South Carolina Convention also enacted into law "the so-called Black Code": a statute that the Colored People's Convention claimed the legislature passed to deprive Black South Carolinians of "any legitimate business save under such unjust restraints as are imposed upon no other class of people in the State."

Seeking to negotiate a biracial government of pragmatists and the nullification of this formidable obstructionist legislation, the delegates to the Colored Convention concluded their call for class and caste power sharing by petitioning the sense of fairness they attributed to Southern White Democrats, who, in 1865, were in full command of the reorganization and prospects of South Carolina:[263]

> We claim that we deserve the conscience and good will of all classes of men. We ask that the same opportunities be extended to us that freemen have a right to demand at the hands of their fellow-citizens. We desire the growth and prosperity of this State, and the well-being of *all* men, and we would be found ever struggling to elevate ourselves and add to the glory of the national character. We trust that the day is not far distant when you will acknowledge that our progress in social, intellectual, moral, and religious development entitles us to the highest commendation and respect, and that we shall be worthy to occupy with the best in the land, positions of trust and power; when we shall realize the great truth that "all men are endowed, by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" and that although complexions may differ, a "man's a man for a' that."[264]

FRANCIS CARDOZO A FREE BLACK SOUTHERN CLERGYMAN IN THE NORTH AND PROFESSIONAL POLITICIAN IN THE SOUTH

White Southerners would have nothing of the kind! And Gibbs--who migrated to become Secretary of the State of Florida, (1872-74)--would have nothing less![265] In addition to presbyter-educator Gibbs, Black clergymen-politicians were also present at the 1865 Colored Convention: which revealed the civil hand Black men extended and White men rejected, whose reaction precipitated a complex chain of events resulting in the Democrats of the South forcing Reconstruction upon themselves from Republicans in the North.

These realism-respecting, indealism-intending, and competition-exciting aggressive racionators erupted as irruptive novice preacher-politicians in actuality to manage reality subsequently, and in this new reality they managed to demonstrate their secular and religious competence in ecclesiastical and civil affairs of church and state when Reconstruction governments were imposed.

The Reverend Francis Louis Cardozo (1837-1903) was an active delegate in this Convention. A free-born Charleston-native, son of a Black race and Indian

ethnic mother and a White (not Black) Jewish father, at the age of twelve Cardozo was apprenticed as a carpenter (for five years)--and thereafter refined his skills in the craft as a journeyman (for four years)--in which trade he earned and saved money enough to educate himself abroad.

Garnet sailed for British Isles in 1850, accepted his appointment as the missionary for Church of Scotland to Jamaica in 1852, and returned to the United States in 1856. One year later, twenty-one year-old Cardozo traveled to Scotland: where he studied at the University of Glasgow and won the fifth prize in a Latin class of two hundred, and the seventh prize in a Greek class of one hundred fifty.

Upon graduation, the Presbyterian layman studied for three years in the Edinburgh and London seminaries of the Church of Scotland: before returning to become Amos Gerry Beman's successor (in August 1864) as minister of the New Haven Dixwell Avenue (formerly Temple Street) Congregational Church.[266] Cardozo resigned the post within less than a year in favor of an offer he could not refuse, because he was persuaded the opportunity held possibilities unanticipated by his solicitors, including the chance to initiate rational and radical rapid constructive structural change in his native state.

The South Carolinian accepted the A.M.A.'s invitation to establish and administer (1865-68) Avery Institute, the Normal School that the Congregationalist Church created for Charlestonian freedmen.

Three years later, and one year after the Radical Republican majority in the United States Senate and House of Representatives imposed the Reconstruction of the South and second unconditional surrender terms of reentry into the Union upon the secessionist States, Cardozo was elected to the second South Carolina Constitutional Convention (1868).

This nearer to revolution than to reform rational and rapid radical root constitutionalism was called and convened by the legitimate power and authority of Congress, mandated to establish equal justice and protection under the law for all White and Black male South Carolinians by means of discarding the old and writing and instituting a new State Constitution, and superimposed the supersession's enacted and enforced law as the government that superseded all previous State of South Carolina governing bodies.

Politician Cardozo was not elected but an appointed state official, and the Colored Calvinist Carolinian clergyman served his native state as chairman of the Committee on Education that established the South Carolina public school system.

It was born of a legislative act passed by the Northern-born and Southern-born biracial Republican lawmakers over the objection of the outraged and outrageous monoracial Confederate-Democrat legislators; challenged by Confederates who were organized to beat the devil, the not powerless but powerful Democratic minority, and claimed themselves to be engaged to check the tyranny of the majority rather than either the anarchy or tyranny of the minority; and obstructed by anti-Reconstructionist Democrats who swore the Black man was the enemy of the White man, and the White Southern scalawag and Northern carpetbagger Republicans and friends of their enemy were their enemy.

It followed as naturally as their dusks followed their dawns that the singular advantage of this public education fountainhead formation for poor White folk was far less obvious to the White-ethnic proterrorist foes than apparent to White-ethnic antiterrorist friends of their cultural and consanguinean distant and near cousins like Cardozo, and no less real than the transparent transfor-

mation from comparative disadvantage to comparable relative advantage outcome of the constructive Reconstruction-constructed public instruction system for the Black-race beneficiaries, who hitherto had been victims of the enacted and enforced anti-Black race law and order of the slavocracy proscribing their receiving rudimentary reading and writing (but not arithmetical since planters' profits were increased by cost/benefit-calculating slaves and thus bondmen were permitted mathematical) schooling.

Cardozo, the native son and educated Presbyterian clergyman-politician, was successively selected South Carolina Secretary of State, (1868-72), appointed professor of classics at Howard University (1871-72), and elected (1872) State Treasurer of South Carolina. His reelection (in 1876) as Treasurer was terminated (in 1877) in mid-tenure at the end of Reconstruction, and the nearly all-Black Southern Republicans and the Republican Party in the South, when the legislative power levers were recovered by the all-White lawmakers at the helm of the solid South's Democratic Party.

It comprised, not surprisingly, the scattering but drastically reduced number of the continuously enfranchised Black electorate who were permitted to cast their ballots; the residual of the endangered species enjoying their marginal exercise of the franchise yet diminished capacity in the aggregate; and the far from risk-free Black minority whose greater advantage than disadvantage compared to the disenfranchised Black majority was necessarily a privilege and power difference that made no difference.

This was the case because the difference between Black male middle-class performance and underclass nonperformance was a demonstrable difference between Black males who distinguished themselves and those who did not that made no difference to class over caste Northern Bushnellian and Southern Palmeresque White males: who as cultural determiners conferred distinction and status (on English-race and British-ethnic Anglo-Americans and their Anglo-Saxon peers but not upon Black-race Americans) and preferred to appreciate the Black race divisible members as invisible parts of one visible and indivisible whole Black body of obsolescence.

Of course, Cardozo, their Calvinist clerical compeer and cultural cousin, was no more rejected because he was a Black Jew whose class (both observant and nonobservant Occidental and Oriental Hebrews or) White Jews who distinguished themselves from their Black African cultural kith and kin by identifying African race-specific Jews as the inauthentic Falashas--refused to consider an authentic Jew because his mother was not a genuine either White or Black Jew as were Ethiopian-ethnic Jews--than his father was accepted by more or less classy Christian Church-controlling classical and classic Catholic and Calvinist conservatives because he was a White Jew born of European Jews.

Cardozo subsequently secured employment in the Federal Government when he relocated in the nation's capitol where he obtained appointments in the Treasury Department, the Post Office Department, and as principal (1884-96) of the (one and only) Colored High School in the District of Columbia.[267]

COLOR-CASTE CAST OUT OF AND CREATED AN OUTCASTE SYNOD BY THEIR WHITE SOUTHERN "OLD SCHOOL" FREEDMEN'S SOCIETY

Native son Black clergymen-politicians, like Francis Cardozo, could not be either ignored or respected by their White Presbyterian brethren of the cloth. This ambivalence was derived from frozen and faulty racist premises but not

ethnic mother and a White (not Black) Jewish father, at the age of twelve Cardozo was apprenticed as a carpenter (for five years)--and thereafter refined his skills in the craft as a journeyman (for four years)--in which trade he earned and saved money enough to educate himself abroad.

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protectionist self-defense style and substance issuing forth as the eradication of self-determination, included overruling the commonsensical truth claim perforce which clansman Cardozo *is* at least an ersatz *white* (magic) mind and *white* soul and one in actually as real as his *white* body; an embraceable kinsman (howbeit not a Klansman) deserving to be respected and accepted rather than disowned and despised; and a flesh and blood figure moving among the fashionable as a fastening fact proving that consanguineous and Christian cousinhood *ought* to be conferred upon Cardozo by the brotherhood and sisterhood.

Even though the one whole color caste cast or minority *white* and majority *black* (*brown* and *beige*) body was numerically comprised of less than one-third constituents complementing the image that Cardozo projected in reality, the almost *white persona* no less than the almost *black persona* of the visible and indivisible Black body was so objectionable to Calvinist Confederates and comrade counterfeit Christians that the collective conscience of class consciousness instantly turned to their plethora of choices to elect a live option.

Cardozo, the not color-blind but color-conscious churchman whom his color-intensive class over caste compeers cast an outcaste, evolved as a representative color caste clergyman-politician. Like the host with whom he shared values (and premises underpinning affirmative action principles of interpretation positing a not static but dynamic Constitution and the derivative positive connection of the separate powers and separation of church and state doctrines), Cardozo played hardball partisan party power politics. This conscious collective conscious and class of clergy demonstrated conclusively that they, unlike the champions of class cruising in their Confederate chariots of charity and chastity, placed a higher priority on secular-civil than upon sectarian-ecclesiastical politics.

Protestant establishment church counselors and litigious litigators were primarily interested in parochial privileges and prerogatives and private business, church constitution scholars and specialists in parochial jurisprudence, and legalists searching for and finding legal precedents in ecclesiastical law legitimatizing their determination to retreat from enforcing the demanding dynamic ecclesiastical and civil equal rights and responsibilities cause and effect consequences of the rule of law and rule of conscience rulers. Since the primary mission of the method is medium and message messengers was direct destructive disengagement from the productive positive connection between religious and secular church and state policy, and they were rushing with the new justification by faith in reason-derived deobligationism principle and process rationalizing this policy and program to their fall back position perforce leaving civil rights and partisan politics to the profane professional politicians and lawyers, the reactionaries thought and acted against American Civil Religion and for emerging Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church.

They stated for the record their reversion rights, implied they were right and righteous, and drew from the implication the inference that color caste clergymen-politicians were moving against clerical conventional wisdom as an alternative leadership class initiative forming the Colored consensus behind their challenge of the countermarching Christian clansmen. White powerful and powerless Protestants diverged in class and converged as a class of pure puritanical moralism and hyperorthodoxy hypocrisy, who professed to be professionals engaged solely in parochial (business of religion) affairs and private (business of business) matters while they selectively disengaged from Republican Party and Democratic Party power politics and reengaged as partisan Prohibition Party power politics partisans.

In sum and substance, conscious intentions and actions of these selective *realpolitik* power players had social consequences as solid as their convincement that the competitive color caste clergy could be summarily dismissed as leaders worthy of respect because they sustained the continuum of mixing religion and politics--which they claimed to be the sacred and profane means of public morality and social conscience to the end of achieving ever-expanding universal individual dignity and decency--just as the White brethren in the major lower-class and middle-class Protestant Churches were returning in the postbellum era to their antebellum posture of neutrality that settled on the compromise of principle, from divided Temperance parochial parties to partners united in the Prohibition Party, and toward Northern and Southern powerhouse clergy reunited against Black clergymen-politicians and more surprised by their spectacular sectarian success or less startled by their partisan process than shocked by the outcome of their secular political pursuits and power interests.

The class of the pariah caste concentrated the mind with their concentration on their legitimate claims, and profane means-ends and needs-results litmus tests of church and state constitutions and constitutional lawyers. This secular objective of sacred competitors appeared to the power elite Protestants the precipitating cause of their religious underdevelopment effect among Black Presbyterians, and the constant contributing cause of this stabilized steady state in the Reconstruction decade compared to the rapidly rising tide of proselytized Protestants expanding number of proliferating churches swelling size of the autonomous Black Denominations.

In truth, the remarkable difference resulted primarily because the unique inhibitive and prohibitive Calvinistical constraints of structured double damnation were imposed by the double indemnity class upon the double jeopardy caste as their deterrence-benevolence unconditional terms of endearment, conditions for providing charitable contributions and support systems, and means for guaranteeing the limits-revering survival of native North American color caste constituents in their fatherland.

They did not comprise their principles but remained "Consistent Calvinists," whence, true to their character throughout their nineteenth-century Southern Way of Life in democracy's slavocracy and Confederacy's democracy, Southern White Presbyterians neither approved of nor permitted in time either independent Black Denominations or autonomous Black Denominations.

On the contrary, throughout the South where the Black American majority resided during the postbellum decades, the leading Calvinist traditionalists (primarily Scotch-Irish ethnic Baptists and Presbyterians) continuously sustained intense pressure by turning the ecclesiastical political and civil anti-political screws of their caste device toward their proselytized (evangelized-revivalized and missionized) Black body caught in the middle. Their Colored congregants, "Consistent Calvinists" attracted and held rigidly in their inflexible puritanical moralism process and social conservative status quo outcome mechanism, were forced to remain in the compromising position by this Hobson's Choice fashionable and formal form and function facility by the facile facilitators.

Clearly Confederate Reformed Church never tired of their tiresome insistent and consistent instruction of Black folk in the art of living with pain produced by inflicted bodily injury and pleasure excited by corporeal and cerebral cruelty, and psycho-physical punishment provided on principle by principal law and order authorities as so far from criminal recrimination and demonstrable crime of punishment and near to the perfect administration of justice and rewards pro-

voked by Colored people's persistence on existence in a state precluding civil rights and liberties and persistent demands for the Constitution to change the rules of engagement from exclusion to inclusion.

Apparently, however, they became tired of the Black-race leadership-organized collective caste class' massive resistance to accepting with grace and gratitude what the powerhouse professors certified as professional public accountants of Protestant philanthropy to be an even exchange of soulcraft for statecraft, and declared a fair and equitable arrangement of their tender mercies. Finally, in the 1897 General Assembly of the "Old School" Southern Presbyterian Church, presbyters initiated formal questions and answers regarding the merits of the case for insulating and isolating the whole Presbyterian Black body as a separate and distinct entity within the Denomination.

The Southern Presbyterian General Assembly appeared (in 1901), by turns, driven with desire for more religious liberty and freedom of conscious, determined sectarians seeking more ecclesiastical collective security than secular collective justice or civil collective stability, strapped for negotiable church and civil currency, trapped by a reversal in fortune resulting from a temporary charity cash flow problem, and allured by this separate and unequal Presbyterian philanthropy outcome and income of unexpected windfall profits from the ethical interests off previous moral capital investments.

Whether or not God and the Devil fought fully as much as Black people were in love and trouble with the determination *double entente* and double-acting divines, who divined as decisively as they designed their destiny, on this corner of double damnation and double indemnity double election turned sharply to the far right and dumped double jeopardy. In this mode and mood the supreme judicatory established--with twenty-one White presbyters and one thousand three hundred fifty-two Black Presbyterian parishioners--the Afro-American Presbyterian Church.

A Presbyterian pluperfect prescription for perfection, which turned out to be in actuality a blueprint for disaster, the screened and segregated Black Southern Presbyterian Church limped along until the predesigned handicapped body's thirty-seven White clergy and one thousand four hundred Black laity were readmitted (in 1917) by the Southern Presbyterian General Assembly as the separate and unequal Afro-American Presbyterian Synod.[268]

It is most difficult to determine whether the parallel lack of resources and interest were comparable causes and effects of the Northern and Southern Presbyterian powers' racism-replete errors of conception and deception, who were far less serious consequentialists than sincere intentionalists in spite of the fact that they thought solid consequences automatically followed from their earnest intentions.

But the Southern Presbyterian rationalizationists' logical manipulation of these double errors functioned effectively to reinforce their determination to leave the education of postbellum Black brethren to the Committee on Freedmen of the Northern Presbyterian Church. Southerners tolerated the educational mission of Northerners--whose embryonic public interest enhancing potential Confederates disallowed and Yankees transferred to religious schools and parochial academies or private colleges wherein its potency was severely limited to sectarian interests--primarily because they able to restrict its impact to the Presbyterian boundaries they controlled.

While this delimited range was the result of their boundless undue influence that they exerted with reckless abandon, their wishes were the command of

Northerners who were not powerless but elected to prevent their public interest potential from proliferating on old plantations that these "Old School" missionaries-ministers transformed into Protestant compounds. By 1870, these reservations were as soundly structured as they were solidly created by rival proselytizing Churches for propounding Black folk in their competitive versions of the Protestant apolitical middle-class morality social gospel.

In this year, awareness that the "New School" radicals were a rapidly vanishing breed was heightened partly by the fact that few called the class an endangered species, and primarily by the reunion of the Northern "New School" General Assembly and "Old School" General Assembly as the Northern Presbyterian Church. Just as their schism (in 1837) heralded future antislavery-proslavery divisions of the other major (save the Episcopal and Congregationalist) Evangelical Churches, just so effectually their reunification celebration appeared the sectarian secular and sacred coronation of Jim Crow.

It functioned as the symbol and sign of the crystallization of caste in the establishmentarian North American White Protestant Church. A non-denial denial of the meaning of the event argued the arguments from silence that no official commissioned a new orchestration for the consecration convocation which added contemporary meaning and relevance to the repeat performance by establishmentarian Protestants of their antebellum anti-Black race interest symphony. But their postbellum and post-Reconstruction variation on the theme of malign neglect was real, whether or not it was orchestrated to produce the sound and rhythm of religious benign neglect of secular civility and profane justice in the public sector.

MAJOR PRESBYTERIAN FREEDMEN'S SOCIETY FOUNDED BY THE NORTHERN "OLD SCHOOL"

Proclaiming this "New School" and "Old School" unification processional neither an exercise in futility nor a compromise of principle death march but a cavalcade parading the rebirth of the Reformed Church's institutional mission and vision, "New Side" survivors denied they surrendered their precursors' creative social change motives and measures, and that they acquiesced in the separate but unequal Southern strategy which Presbyterian tacticians endorsed. Their defense rested on the indisputable fact that the Northern Presbyterian General Assembly established as its agency the Committee for Freedmen.

The bureaucrats and technocrats of this benevolence enterprise organized churches and schools for more Black folk than White folk in the South, and educated Black ministers and missionaries in newly formed institutions. The first Presbyterian Black College in the South they initially called Biddle Memorial Institute (1867), located it in Charlotte, North Carolina, the center of Southern Presbyterianism, and renamed it Johnson C. Smith when his widow endowed the school to honor her husband.

Northern Presbyterians' "Consistent Calvinist" constancy and change premises and principles were as persistent as their programmatic process, promise, and performance. True to their rational reason and revealed religion, the self-revelation of Calvinist Puritan Reformed Church traditionalists was their original design of Biddle Institute to be a model Millennarian Evangelical institution, to facilitate their primary objective end of Black folk, and to fashion a launch pad for the direct flight to Africa of the Christianized-Civilized-Colonized North American Black race.

But the unanticipated aftereffects of the unbesought Reconstruction--whose rational and radical constructive and structural social change counterdemands establishmentarian Reformed churchmen found unbearable--produced in its catastrophic aftermath the precipitating causes of Presbyterian traditionalists' determination to rearrange the time table of their deterrence-benevolence deportation program.

The means to this end were contributions of local church charities and the beneficence of Calvinist capitalists. They included the generous donations of benevolent paternalists like James Buchanan Duke (1858-1925), whose substantial gifts and grants were matched by the mixed parochial and private Presbyterian reserves that presbyters called upon to guarantee achievement of their ultimate goal. It commenced with the reestablishment of Biddle Institute as Johnson C. Smith University.[269]

In 1872, the Committee for Freedmen, reported receipts channeled to the Presbyterian Freedmen's Society totaled 556,000 from 1,126 Northern churches, 50 from the 3,469 other congregations in the Denomination. The Society's largest recorded single gift was the $113,000 contribution it received in 1894. The outstanding stellar achievements of the Committee occurred in its secondary (relative to the Evangelical evangelism-revivalism theological and puritanical moralistic ideological primary) mission of elementary education.

Agents' powers of concentration and consecration were a matched means serving their prime purpose perforce pioneering parochial and private instruction--in not only middle-class morality and respectability but selective working-class and labor-intensive trades. The Committee solicited and obtained thousands of dollars, and distributed these monetary benefits according to a fiscal policy that revolved around a cost-effective program entailing supervising one hundred and seventy-nine missionaries (by 1869), one hundred and twenty-six of whom were Black men and women. One hundred sixty schools were sustained by the Presbyterian Freedmen's Society as late as 1916, the year in which the annual report of the Presbyterian commissioners recorded their six-fold increase of the Denomination from five thousand Black congregants in 1870 to thirty thousand in 1915.[270]

POOR PRESBYTERIAN RECRUITING EFFORTS AND POORER RESULTS COMPARED TO PROSELYTIZATION PROWESS OF RIVAL SECTARIANS

Doubtless the reasonable reasons offered by descendants of Northern ("Old School" and "New School") Presbyterians sustained their claim that the Denomination made a singular contribution to the basic education of postbellum Black Southerners. In addition to their considerable pride in these accomplishments, early twentieth-century advocates of these Reformed Church men and their measurable munificence evinced more than ordinary satisfaction in arguing that the facts and figures support their traditional version.

They followed conventional wisdom's rationalization, that explained and attempted to explain away the modest success of the Presbyterians' Black race enlistment. It concluded, that, due to the higher standards of education than were applied by Evangelical Protestant competitors and the Presbyterians enforced for admission to the clerical profession, the Reformed body of the Calvinist tradition lost more Black Calvinists than Congregationalists ever gained. Post-Reconstruction Presbyterians certainly failed in their endeavor to corner the puritanical hypocrisy market and the spirit of antiblack white-ethnic virtue,

fully as much as they did not succeed in their attempt to make anti-Black race interest the cornerstone value of American virtue.

But their enterprising failures hardly were due to these conflicting dynamic poles and potentials of the national value system being forceless points of tension within good men and women: who were made better or worse by their dedication to pro-White race/ethnic real interests and values and their perverse equation with pro-Black race real interests and values. The scores of Reconstruction model men and women who taught Black folk to hope for the best and prepare for the worse were formidable foes and friends, who most certainly believed themselves to be the only eternal light amidst enduring darkness.

Concurrent with their splendid and sometimes superlative religious humanitarianism, Calvinist (like other Protestant) missionaries left the indelible impression upon the minds of the religious and secular power-pursuing Black leadership that they had surrendered to the establishment principle of inequality.

The praiseworthy appeared blameworthy most clearly as they publicly published their affirmation of monism and hyperexclusivity, and disavowal of pluralism and equalitarianism in the profane and sacred realms: however directly or indirectly these preferences sprung from either personal prejudices or the inability of missionary-educators to prevent the compromise of principle propensity of the establishment ecclesiastical and civil powers, which they idealized and idolized more adroitly than they modified and corrected.

Being precedent-reverent legalists who had history of respecting tradition, including their antebellum anti-Black race interest policy and polity, it was a second nature standard operating procedure for the Northern "Old School" evangelism/revivalism-motivated and missionary/charity-directed intensive Calvinists to organize the Presbyterian Freedmen's Society, and to send forth a disproportionately largely number of White than Black missionaries who approached the objects of their charity and subjects of their mercy as if they had masterful Black (slave or free) Presbyterians.

Yankee-Puritan imperialists shared values and perspectives with Scotch-Irish Southern Reformed Church presbyters, partly because their Presbyterian faith and ethics united in America the frequently divided English race and British ethnic representatives in England, including their chosen people proclamation of the superior Calvinist *Errand into the Wilderness* and inferior Arminian mission and justifications of the comparative Presbyterian/Congregationalist failure and Methodist/Baptist success in proselytizing a critical mass of the Black masses.

These realities were set in perspective by the Reverend Joseph Williams, a Black exhorter of the Presbyterian Church in Macon, Georgia, after fellow Black members petitioned successfully (April 1866) to organize an autonomous Black church and he dissociated from the Hopeful Presbytery because it would grant him equal status with fellow presbyters:

> It has been said that you cannot make Presbyterians of the coloured people of the South. Now why not? What is Presbyterianism? What, *it is just the Bible and common sense.* (Laughter) And can't the coloured people understand these? A Southern white man once said to me, "The Yankees have freed you, and you where you are; and now they must take care of you, and you must go to them for what you want." He was a Presbyterian; so I said to him, "You must not blame the Yankees for what they have done. You believe, 'God hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass." If this is true,

> the 'Yankees' could not come to this work a day sooner, nor work a day longer, than they did." He said he didn't know that he believed that doctrine as much as I did. (Laughter).[271]

Both (the Old and New School Presbyterian Churches) parties to the expanding enormous gap between their antebellum and postbellum promise and performance were satisfied with self-serving rationalizations. The *First Annual Report of the Western Committee on Freedmen* (1866) to Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. succinctly stated the argument for the small Calvinist color caste class:

> A pure Presbyterianism could not be given them while in slavery since it was not possible for slave elders, teaching or ruling, to sit by the side of their masters in church courts.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Presbyterians changed their tone but not their tune in the North and the South. The equally different and strong Northern major and Southern minor key in which their "two systems" were orchestrated produced dissonance and disinterest in the real interests of Black Northern and Southern Presbyterians, resulting in orchestrations of indifference that distinguished the Reformed traditions from the separate and distinct missions to the freedmen organized by the other Evangelical Denominations.

As constitutional and institutional sectarian and civil race separatists, Presbyterians formalized the policy of all-Black and all-White Presbyterian Churches, Synods, Presbyteries, churches, and judicatories. The progressive transformationist North American (cousins of the White South African Dutch) Calvinists produced "two systems" in a rationalized apartheid bureaucracy, after the Northern and Southern Baptist Churches and Methodist Churches systematized their racial divisions. These major Evangelical Calvinist and Arminian competitors of the Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches turned the race for proselytizing freedmen class they previously held captive as captors into a two horse race, between Methodist and Baptist colts who nearly lapped their fillies.

Presbyterians and Congregationalists were not competitive and Methodists and Baptists remained champion proselytizers among the White Denominations, in spite of their equally strong commitment to countermand any rational reflective thought and affirmative action entailing securing biracial ecclesiastical and civil equalitarianism, to sustain Black and White segregated churches within the mainstream Denominations dominated by all-White leaders, and to create separate Black and White Denominations. Essentially Methodists and Baptists beat the competition because they complemented their determination to proselytize and to segregate with a realistic appraisal and appreciation of the conclusion demanded by their systemic and systematic hyperexclusive polity--that is, given their prearranged separatism policy, both accepted the only viable alternative and initiated a biracial structure in full compliance with the apartheid direct order.

Baptists and Methodists also kept Black ministers in harness but fare more than rivals increasingly held the reins less and less taut, which gave the color caste clergy neither liberty nor freedom but license to develop a measure of self-determination. This difference made all the difference in the world, even though the difference in degree was not so great as to result in a different kind of institutional racism.

Baptist and Methodist parochial challengers of Evangelical Presbyterians and Congregationalists did not act upon their preferred choices, but were coerced by

the consequences of their priorities to forego their desire to dominate completely the subordinated Black congregants within their Denominations. They advanced as pragmatist dogmatists and utilized the techniques of realism to guarantee the skilled direction of an efficient and sufficient idealism. Whence as British ethnic countermovements, composed of a large minority (compared to overwhelming majority in the Presbyterian Churches) of Scotch-Irish churchmen, Baptists and Arminians predeliberately acted--against neither their better judgment nor their will--to encourage and support Black clergy in organizing, establishing, and leading all-Black and independent congregations within their Evangelical Millennial Protestant ecclesiology.

Presbyterians arrived at the decision to construct their radical compartmentalization and structural wall of partition nearly too late to be effective. The primary reason revolved around the fact that Presbyterians and Congregationalists resisted too strongly and too long granting self-determination to the Black male, even after they established separate and unequal institutions.

The secondary independent was that the Reformed (unlike Methodist Arminians and Baptist) Calvinists remained rigid total command and control dictators in their inflexible commitment to subjugate Black congregants. Even their Afro-American Presbyterian Church that readmitted as the Afro-American Presbyterian Synod was a faulty structure with limited flexibility, which extended from an insubstantial foundation composed of precious little mercy intermixed with barely a trace of prevenient grace.

Moreover, Jim Crow positive law, that ordered the post-Confederacy superstructure and Southern Way of Life infrastructure, formed the theoretical civil principle that Presbyterians adopted and adapted for their rigorous church subordination to the state ecclesiastical experimental and experiential practice. Along with the legislative and judicial design of Presbyterian polity--whose republican representative central church governance system was appropriated as the standard for the republican representative democracy of the Federal Government by the framers of the Constitution and architects of the Republic--its secular utilitarian and religious pragmatic process facilitated the denial of religious liberty and freedom of conscious to Black Presbyterians, wherein the church did not lead but followed state neither inevitably nor necessarily but deliberately.

The superimposition of coercive constraints for the color caste class to operate under were excessive restraints, whereby the dehumanization of Calvinism alienated a disproportionately larger numbers of prospective Black proselytes than did Arminianism, yet Presbyterianism proved no more demanding than Methodism (by definition the method is the medium and the message) or the Methodist *Discipline* (book of laws, rules, and regulations for the methodical itinerant/convectional central church system).

POST-RECONSTRUCTION PUBLIC ETHICS OF ACTIVIST BLACK ETHICIST AND PRESBYTER FRANCIS GRIMKÉ

Prior to the Southern Presbyterian Church's formation of the Afro-American Church (Synod), and quintessential Manifesto of deobligation and institutionalization of segregation, law-abiding turned Fugitive Slave Law (1850)-breaking Commissioners of the Old School Board of Domestic Missions of the Northern Presbyterian Church selectively secured runaways in the North and penetrated the fugitive underbelly of the South.

At this critical turning point these emissaries created Ashmun Institute (1854) to develop Black missionaries for Africa, and Black colonizationists to pioneer the planned ultimate resettlement of the whole North American Black race on the Continent of Africa. Their updated ACS Black race deportation means-ends ultimate solution, and demonstrable deterrence-benevolence rationalized *raison d'être* despite the revisionists' up-to-date modifications and sweeping changes, was scarcely an unmixed good or evil driving motivation and mission of this objective institution.

Ashmun Institute, the oldest college organized for the higher education of Black North Americans, Presbyterians located near Philadelphia, founded as an all-male academy, reorganized around an affirmative action and equal opportunity open admissions policy, and renamed Lincoln University (1866).

The Reverend Francis James Grimké (1850-1937) graduated from Lincoln University valedictorian of the class of 1870, in which Archibald Henry Grimké (1849-1930), his brother ranked third. The Grimké brothers were publicly respected and accepted by their White aunt, Sarah Moore Grimké (1792-1873), and her sister and brother-in-law with whom she lived after they moved relocated in New Jersey. Alternatively stated, they were two of Theodore Dwight Weld's Black nephews as a result of his marriage with Angelina Emily Grimké of South Carolina. Her slavemaster and planter brother whom she left in Charleston, Henry Grimké, sired with (his slave) Nancy Weston three sons, two of whom, Archibald and Francis, matriculated in Lincoln University.

Archibald Grimké subsequently graduated with distinction from Harvard Law School; distinguished himself throughout a productive life as a public servant in his professional vocation and amateur avocations; attained more fame than wealth or power as a successful Boston attorney, author, and editor; and served as the United States Ambassador to the Republic of Santo Domingo (1884-98), and the president of the American Negro Academy (1897). Complementarily, Francis Grimké secured employment at his alma, studied law at Lincoln University and Howard University, changed his mind and professional career goal in a mid-course correction, and commenced his theological education and training (1875-78) for the clergy profession at Princeton Theological Seminary from which theological school he graduated in 1878. Presbyter Grimké earned high praise for his distinctive contributions to the parochial, private, and public sectors as the minister of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church (Henry Highland Garnet pastored in the 1860s) in Washington, D.C. Grimké served (1878-85, 1889-1937) in this clerical office throughout his professional career--except during the period (1885-89) when he moved to Jacksonville, Florida to recover his health, where he pastored the Laura Street Presbyterian Church.[272]

Francis Grimké married (December 19, 1879) Charlotte L. Forten (1837-1914) --the Philadelphia native and granddaughter of James Forten (1766-1842): the celebrated Black Philadelphian Old Abolitionist and New Abolitionist, wealthy sailmaker, and vestryman of St. Thomas' Episcopal Church (the first all-Black Episcopal church in the United States). The niece of Robert Purvis (1810-1898) --the Black New Abolitionist in Philadelphia who was born in Salem, Massachusetts--Forten-Grimké's father was sailmaker Robert Bridges Forten.

In spite of the father and son being rich and famous Black capitalists, and inventive entrepreneurs whose surprise as capital and management was their successful White and Black labor whose cooperative and productive efficiency enabled them to make their enterprise competitive, the Fortens were as powerless as they were privileged producers of wealth and generous distributors of

their real profits, interests, and values.

If personal initiative and productive industry are the hallmark of the White ethnic individual--who is the constituent element of mutually fertile American Calvinist capitalism and republican democracy as well as Evangelical Protestantism--James Forten was the representative Black model modern moral mind over money in the antebellum era.

But in reaching the pinnacle of success, Forten was the demonstrable essence and manifestation of a transparent truth of American reality wherein no Black man or woman can be an exception to two rules: First, an individual is an ethnic person, ethnicity is a prerequisite for status or respect (conferred by cultural determiners who highly regard no one known to be a Black race, color, creed, and previous condition of involuntary servitude descendant), and being culturally defined a member of the deethnicized Black race-only group (or race essence that precedes and succeeds existence) Black existence by definition cannot be an individual (one who is accepted without regard to race and is able unlike the Black person to affirm or deny race) or attain status; and, second, the Black American is permanently bound in fact and figure by race identification first, foremost, last and always.

What is of moment turns from the life of logic, to the logic of life, and on the theory and experience in reality of the Forten children. They were competitive yet denied access to Philadelphia private schools and private schools for the public, and relied for formal instruction upon private tutors and the schools developed by the underdeveloped but developing Black community. Facing the alternatives realistically, Robert Forten determined that his precocious daughter should maximize her advantage, and would benefit from learning in a nonsegregated school comprised of accepting peers.

Translating the thought into action, he sent her (in 1854) to live with their Black New Abolitionist friend in Salem, Massachusetts, Charles Lenox Remond (1810-73), in order to obtain in the city solid basic schooling. Charlotte Forten completed her formal education in the Salem grammar (1855) and normal (1856) schools, where she taught (1856-58) in the Epes Grammar School until her health failed.

Returning home in less than excellent physical health, the young teacher and poet languished in Philadelphia until the Union Navy captured (in 1861) Port Royal, South Carolina, and the Federal Government transformed the sea islands into a social experiment in biracial preparation for participatory democracy the following year. Upon the establishment of this Northern *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, by a parochial-private-public partnership agency that set a precedent and established a model for the ecclesiastical and civil Freedmen's Societies, Charlotte Forten volunteered her services as a skilled and experienced teacher and served in the Port Royal experimental program (1862-64): where she completed her *Journal* (1854-64).

Following her venture in improving the human condition of a truly needy and exceptionally deprived body of peculiarly isolated folk, she lived an uneventful life of introspection and reflection in the City of Brotherly Love. Her writing projects included two essays entitled *Life on the Sea Islands* (1864), which were published by the *Atlantic Monthly* fifteen years before she became Charlotte Forten Grimké.[273]

A trained preacher and twelve years younger Southern slave-born suitor of the Northern free-born teacher in the South and the North, Francis James Grimké was a marvelous moral man and match with his brilliant bride. A prea-

cher and preceptor who practiced his principles in parochial bureaucracies, private corporations, and public institutions, the public servant, public ethics professor, and religious orator was as solid a performer as any of his outstanding White and Black clerical contemporaries.

But the fearless fierce fighter of false and foolish foes and friends, who asserted that their legions of followers proved they were not enemies of their fellowman, enjoyed the respect of his middle-class peers and little stiff competition from Black clergyman as a literary figure and prolific producer of widely published and read sermons. The clergyman son of a White planter father and Black slave mother stood out in the color caste class leadership ranks, for partisan party power politics parson and parishioner partnerships, and with the best of the pro-Black race interests and values Black leaders who spoke with and to Black folk of White folk; to White folk for and of Black folk; and as interpreters and defenders of their rewarding rights and responsibilities.

White-race/ethnic and Black-race cultural and genetic kith and kin in living color, presbyter Grimké, the paradigmatic biracial and bireligious bicultural bipartisan, reluctantly reached from not descriptive facts but hard data one value judgment that he considered equally regrettable and warranted by the empirically verifiable institutional racism and racist figures of his Northern Presbyterian Church. It was, he asserted, imperative to remind his British-ethnic ruling elders of the Calvinist Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethic just how faithful they were to their anti-Black interest tradition.

In this instructive posture, he communicated with the Scotch-Irish émigré (in 1882), University of Pennsylvania (A.B. 1893 and Ph.D. 1911) and Princeton Theological Seminary (B.D. 1896) graduate, and Dean (1908-43) Lincoln University (in Chester, Pennsylvania), the Reverend George Johnson (1872-1961), and elucidated the historic problem in the letter he wrote to the academician (on March 5, 1916):

> There is no good or sufficient reason why Lincoln University should be the only one of the Negro institution of higher learning to shut colored men out of its trustee board and out of its professorships. In the last analysis, when we get down to the bottom fact, the real reason will be found to be, though there isn't honesty enough, moral courage enough, to own up to it, is *RACE PREJUDICE*.[274]

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AS THE LAST DENOMINATION TO PROSELYTIZE FREEDMEN

Grimké argued that the facts argued that the anti-Black race interest Calvinist rules of order were the gospel according to the British-ethnic ruling elders of his dearly loved Reformed Church. They were shared by Yankee-Puritan master parsons of Congregationalism: whom Presbyterian Lyman Beecher's irresistible powers of seduction allured into an unbecoming submissive posture, unwincing unthinkable embrace of unmixed evil, and unweaking clerical class of public servants committed to public service in the identical moment they were celebrating proslavocrat values and performing in public a prostituting of authentic Puritan Piety principles act.

Compared to race-reveling Presbyterian presbyters, Congregationalist color-confining clergy were not exceptions to the rule but standard deviations from the norm established by Calvinist leaders. In the mid-1840s, as an aftereffect,

by turns, of the Puritan parsons' 1836 envelopment of deterrence-benevolence apropos doing Beecher's bidding by closing the doors of their meetinghouses to the New Abolitionist friends of color caste Congregationalists, and the 1837 schism of the Presbyterian Church, Congregationalist clergy were beginning to negotiate their gradual withdrawal from the Congregational-Presbyterian Plan of Union. They continued to sustain less binding ties with the developing Northern "New School" Presbyterian and "Old School" Presbyterian Church, while proceeding apace deliberate divergence from the Reformed Denomination and convergence as independent Yankee-Puritan Consociations throughout the New England states into one national Congregationalist Church.

The Consociations finally ratified their first formal constitutional connection as the Congregationalist Church (1852) in the year that Moses Stuart died (the quintessential Puritan professor of Connecticut Yankee racism in Boston) and plenipotentiary Puritan revisionist Harriet Beecher Stowe gave birth to her moving *Uncle Tom's Cabin* back to Africa rational romantic racialism romance, the lasting value and enduring effect of whose excessive expenditure of energy exerted in moving Black Americans out of instead of up in their native land survived her reversal in values after the novel became an international bestseller, she let the proverbial horse out of the corral, and she appeared a day late and a dollar short as the manifest essence in existence of the classic conservative.

Even at this late date of its new birth, as Stuart in his *Constitution and Conscience* (1852) last will and testament of Congregationalist class over caste/-bondage class, establishmentarian Congregationalism was a unification committed not to universal morality but to antislavery/proslavery neutrality. Thus as Calvinist establishmentarian antiabolitionists, and English Puritan race representatives, Yankee Congregationalist officials (compared to whom the A.A.A. agents exceptions proved the rule) were barely distinguishable from both their Northern Presbyterian and Baptist (preponderantly British ethnic) cousins. Quite like the proslavocrat/antislavocracy Congregationalist host, the proslavocrat/antislavocracy leadership corps of Northern Baptists also compromised their principles (which Southerners refused to do).

Distinguished from the Yankee-Puritans in the Unitarian Congregationalist Church who centered around Harvard, with whom they shared values, Trinitarian Congregationalists were related to Yale and Andover Theological Seminaries as protectionists of Orthodoxy. Albeit belatedly, unlike the Unitarian Congregationalists, Trinitarian Congregationalists followed their Calvinist (Presbyterian and Baptist) cousins and rushed onto the Frontier to make new Black and White converts; to keep the West safe from democracy's slavocracy, and for the antislavocracy's real interests and values; and to secure Evangelical Millennialism as the Protestant religion of the Americans.[275]

Yankee-Puritan unmatched resources notwithstanding, historically Congregationalists contributed to the positive advancement of their Black race-specific kinsfolk little more than random and unpredictable toleration of the select they elected Black exceptions to the rule. They included their few Black congregants, and occasional Black parsons of all-White Puritan churches.[276]

During the early national era, no Americans were more discerning than these perceptive Yankee descendants of the Chosen People, "Third Race" (apropos the Christian race whom the Early Christians proclaimed themselves in contradistinction to the Jewish race and Gentile race), and Puritan wayward worldly saints. Yankees tirelessly promoted themselves as this distinctive body of Puri-

tan tribalism with less good reason than solid logic--whose compelling rationalization few privy to the source disputed effectively. Concurrently and correlatively, there existed in their theoretical and experiential sphere of knowledge the reality of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (and the later developing African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in New York City).[277]

Congregationalists these leadership organizations opposed the ACS, but New England Puritans preferred their Christianizing-Civilizing-Colonizing consciousness to the conscience of the color caste class. Synchronously, a creative minority of New England Baptists in the South influenced the precious few White Southerners who were willing and able to extend religious liberty, freedom of conscious, and self-determination to Black proselytes. Whereupon Baptists in the Southeast created an impression that they granted relatively few but comparatively more Black males license to be at liberty in the management of separate churches than they set free from human bondage.[278]

Concurrently insulated and isolated less than they were restricted in the traction of New England theological braces, Congregationalists appeared stabilized in a poor instructive posture to learn from Baptists (in the South) or from Black folk (anywhere). But the Trinitarian and Unitarian Congregationalist leadership of Yankee-Puritans knew first-hand (if not also intimately) free Black Protestants in the North who were currently experimenting with religious independence (without enjoying religious liberty and freedom of conscience).

Leaders of Orthodoxy were perfectly able and unwilling to engage Black men of independent thought and action with respect. They preferred to approach the color caste class as benevolent paternalists, and to demean the intelligence of these creative direct actionist brethren of the cloth: who resided in New Haven as Congregationalist clergymen and in New York as Presbyterian presbyters.

Black Baptist and Methodist parsons in Boston were conspicuous by the absence of Black Congregationalist clergy, and the presence of Black parishioners in what could barely pass for biracial White Orthodoxy. One difficulty Congregationalists managed so successfully that it settled on an excuse for indifference was that few Black Congregationalist leaders existed in the antebellum years outside of either condescension or New York.

The rare Black-race Congregationalist minister and congregation were victims of the hidden persuasions and powers, as definitely as they were preempted of decision-making rights and responsibilities within the Yankee-Puritan power circles. Of the limited number of Black clergy in the Orthodoxy-Reformed connection, the majority were Presbyterians who were as barren of influence as their fellow color caste churchmen were deplete of civil liberties.

Congregationalists were unprepared to give serious consideration to the independent Black Calvinist-Baptist churches within (to say little of beyond) the Yankee-Puritan central Congregationalist boundaries of New England (that they extended to the Northeast and concentrated their extensions in New York after the mid-1840s). But before there eyes developed the popular and progressive Joy Street Baptist Church, (1804) in Boston, Abyssinian Baptist Church (1808) in New York City, and the African Baptist Church (1809) in Philadelphia.[279]

New Haven's Temple Street (later renamed Dixwell Avenue) Congregational Church (1829)--an all-Black congregation whose forceful and first Black parson was the Reverend Amos Gerry Beman (1812-74)--emerged with more support than resistance. But it was considered an aberration by the Congregationalist powers in Boston (Andover Theological Seminary) and New Have (Yale Divinity School), if not ACS agent Leonard Bacon and compeer of Lyman Beecher.

The sole other outstanding current Colored Congregationalist congregation was the Bethesda Congregationalist Church in New York City--pastored by the able and productive Black New Abolitionist advocate compeer of Beman (and adversary of antiabolitionist champions of pro-Colonizationism Bacon and Beecher), the Reverend Charles Bennett Ray (1809-86). While Congregationalist competitive color caste constituency evolved, relative to the Presbyterians, decades after the organization of the African Methodist Episcopal Denomination (1816) Black Baptists formed the Providence Baptist Association (1836) in Ohio, the Wood River Association (1838) in Illinois, and, when they merged, the Western Colored Baptist Convention (1853).[280]

MATTHEW ANDERSON'S CONGREGATIONALIST RATIONAL RACE AND RACISM RELATIONS

Congregationalism could not compete in proselytization and, led by its A.A.A. agency, turned to concentrate on philanthropy in the South after the declaration of the Civil War. The nearly irresistible A.M.A. agents pursued the Reverend Matthew Anderson (1845-1928), a young and talented Black man who could refuse their various offers because their priorities were in conflict. Anderson was a Greencastle, Pennsylvania native who could not obtain an adequate secondary education in his home state.

Anderson departed for Ohio at the age of eighteen to attend (1863-66) Iberia College, a preparatory parochial and private academy Presbyterians established to fill the void of public schools in the West, furthered his education in three different academies. After serving as a missionary-educator (1869-71) in the Presbyterian Freedmen's School at Salisbury, North Carolina, Anderson graduated from Oberlin College (in 1874) and Princeton Theological Seminary (in 1877). He relocated in Connecticut where he studied at Yale Divinity School--during his tenure (1877-79) as successor to Francis Cardozo as minister of the New Haven Temple Street (renamed Dixwell Avenue) Congregational Church--prior to accepting his appointment as a missionary in the South, and departing New Haven for the assignment by way of Philadelphia.

During his 1879 visit to the City of Brotherly Love, Anderson was introduced to the Philadelphia Presbyterian Gloucester Mission. He tarried to organize and develop Gloucester Mission into a large and effective urban institution, the Berean Presbyterian Church.[281]

At this turning point, a constricted construct for context and setting in perspective the subject and object split the young idealist struggled unsuccessfully to unite is set forth. It consists of juxtaposing the Protestant power elite mission mind and munificence method, that is, the motive, means, and opportunity of the race for the gold (grace) as the good (goal), and the messenger of the medium is the massage message.

Hence the Matthew Anderson story of two Calvinist Churches and color-conscious consciences is one he learned while earning a living learning to love and loving to learn in the love of his life, and centers in the life of the lively Presbyterian and Congregationalist class over caste connection. Whether or not he was conscious of the old caste/bondage (antebellum) and new caste (post-Reconstruction) crisis in culture, it is instructive to recall that these coercive constraints under which the messenger moved and measurably found his being and meaning measured both immeasurably.

The religion and race racism relations lesson and education of Matthew An-

derson commences with his post secondary school missionary employment and experience in the ethical excellence experiment at the end of the beginning of Reconstruction, continues with his college and seminary years of study during the beginning of the end of Reconstruction, and concludes with his career as a professional upon which he embarked at the end of Reconstruction and beginning of the "*Black Nadir*."

Earlier during this rising racism-rife era of transition from democracy's slavocracy to democracy's mobocracy rising, in the summer months between his graduation from Presbyterian Princeton matriculation in Congregationalist Yale, the Oberlin alumnus was groomed by "back to Africa" bureaucrats, sponsored as a prime missionary prospect by technocrats who abandoned Reconstruction and concentrated as a constructive engagement in West Africa clerical class on their classic final solution to the class and caste conflict of consciences for Christianity and civility, and employed at the New York headquarters of the A.M.A.

Congregationalists assigned the Presbyterian to a special project that entailed preparing "an outline history of their Mendian" mission in Sierra Leone. In the course of his research Anderson read, with increasing profit, the correspondence between the A.M.A. and William C. Brown: the son of a former American slaveholder serving as a missionary in Sierra Leone.

Anderson wrote for the record that he was deeply impressed by "the kindly manner in which he was spoken of by the missionaries in their letters to the association." These accolades added to the fascination of Brown's letters for Anderson, as he recorded that they were "just bubbling over with interest and religious enthusiasm." Within short period after the novice researcher, and trainee for a Foreign Mission assignment, began this post-Reconstruction era investigation he became puzzled by the abrupt termination of the correspondence between agent Brown and his A.M.A. supervisors.

Curiosity induced Anderson to develop a detailed analysis of the available record. It turned from an objective exploration and routine investigation into a concernment sparked by following a paper trail that led to a matter of intrigue. His suspicion of a conspiracy was confirmed after an exhaustive investigative search for an explanation of the aborted exchange between the agent and the agency ended with the conclusion he drew from his analysis, which was related his report that "not a letter could be secured in the office about him," and "no one seemed able to give us light on the subject."

Anderson seached and found help in solving the mystery when he was joined in the challenge by William Saunders Scarborough (1852-1926): his Oberlin classmate, a Presbyterian convert to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, whose celebrated career as a Wilberforce University (1856) professor of classics was ahead of him. Anderson's in-house internal inquiry came to a dead end, but the magnificent obsession incited the compulsion to conduct an external field search for the answer. Following their Manhattan leads as ecclesiastical detectives turned church investigative reporters, whose telling tales told the Brown trail tailed off in the borough, they traced the trails through the streets until the leg work of Scarborough and Anderson resulted in their location of "a mission" church in lower New York, wherein they discovered Brown speaking to the congregation about "his experiences in Africa."

Brown added the "missing link in the chain of Mendian history" that Anderson and Scarborough had failed to locate in the A.M.A.'s archives. Brown reported that the official disconnection of the communication channels occurred as an aftereffect of a sequence of events, that themselves commenced with the

holiday he had taken as a missionary from the Congregationalist compound in Capetown, Sierra Leone. On this authorized rest and recreation leave from his mission station, Brown recorded for the record, the Anglo-American missionary first met the Black African ethnic he later married, "a Sierra Leone lady, who had been finely educated in England." Brown charged that as a consequence of his biracial marriage he was ostracized by his fellow missionaries. Forthwith he journeyed to New York with his wife, completely confident that the Yankee-Puritan bureaucrats in the national office of the Association were born of a different gene pool, entirely unlike their field agent representatives, and could not be "so blinded with color prejudice as to make its influence operative 6,000 miles from home, and that, too, among a people in whom they professed to be interested."

Brown accepted their invitation and met with Anderson and Scarborough in the Manhattan headquarters of the A.M.A. During this office visit, their ruminations concerning the difficulties they encountered locating him invited Brown to remark that he was not surprised

> that I was lost to you, after the manner I was treated by your missionaries, and your Association, for no other sin than that I saw proper to marry an intelligent, a refined Christian Negro lady. For this crime I was slighted by your missionaries in Africa and by your officials at home.[282]

Anderson completed his project by stating that he was grateful for the research opportunity because the experience enlarged "our view in regard to Africa." However, he added, this "revelation did not encourage us to go as a missionary to Africa" under the auspices of the Yankee-Puritan Congregationalists. Being a Presbyterian rather than Congregationalist "Consistent Calvinist," presbyter Anderson naturally closed the book on the incident by relating that he looked upon the "whole course of preparation" by the A.M.A. as "being the direct leading by the hand of Providence."[283]

A.M.A.'S ANTEBELLUM ERUPTION AND POSTBELLUM RAPID GROWTH AND EXPANSION

Clerical chiefs of the Congregationalist bureaucracy and technocracy remained evenhanded benevolence-deterrence benefactors, as these Calvinist Yankee-Puritan missionaries majored in maligning color caste Calvinists and minored in placing greater benign neglect than distance between their Puritan race and Black race. As faithful traditionalist "consistent Calvinists," in their relative risk-secured or risk-free A.M.A. agency, the public accountants and parochial accountability philanthropists extended the conservative Calvinist continuum by being cost-conscious and cost-effective cautious agents of stability.

Among other higher priorities, excluding securing the advancement of pro-Black race interests whose Black race priority existed beneath the bottom line concern of the benevolent paternalists, Yankee A.M.A. agency superiors and their agents paradoxically followed their Puritan fathers by selectively extending their peculiar *Errand into the Wilderness* of unconcern for the destiny of the Black race: which their Black Calvinists compeers whom they determined were not the "Reprobate" but the "Elect" made perfectly clear and the select "Elect" elected to disregard. By means of this Reconstruction reembodied and revitalized

revision and reversion, the agents achieved their rationalized inextricable subjective mission and objective end. It included the goal of avoiding the controversial and demanding task-responsibility inherent in creating an imaginative and flexible mechanism to secure through time and over time, on time and in time, the ever-more perfect (Union) realization of the church and civil liberties as well as rights and responsibilities of color caste Congregationalists amidst great resistance to the New Abolition and Radical Reconstruction continuum. Postbellum Puritan philanthropists switched from religion (the art of the impossible) to politics (the art of the possible) and vice versa in the late antebellum era, when they claimed were responsibly engaged in achieving impossible and possible promise of justice for Black folk who were fleeing to New England from the border and deep South slave states.[284]

Between 1840 and 1860, the A.M.A. functioned as the paymaster of four hundred forty missionaries on the Frontier. Still more nearsighted than farsighted, these emissaries established four hundred preponderantly all-White churches as far south as Kentucky and Missouri: all of which were open to Black folk who knew their place, and none of which were led by Black clergy. This Congregationalist pattern of ecclesiastical dominance and subordination was refined by an army of Yankee-Puritan race representatives, and had church and civil consequences of enduring significance, as certainly as its centermost means and ends had the effect of encouraging Black folk dependence upon rather than independence from or interdependence with White folk, in an era when the Black race struggled to be responsible and the White race refused to be accountable.

Just as positively, the A.M.A. host of missionaries were in the field in greater numbers than those field by other Denominations at the point that the antebellum decades passed into the Civil War period. And just so inarguably, as the last Evangelical Protestant proselytizers in the nationwide sectarian advance, Congregationalists were the first fully prepared agents to engage in the post-War picture perfect parochial-private-public partnership.[285]

This severely condensed barest outline of the A.M.A.'s retrogressive malefactors and progressive benefactors plus progress from the ACS anti-Black race interest program--throughout the fifteen antebellum years of its existence--alludes to without elucidating the fact that the Association's deterrence-benevolence driving force guaranteed the bountiful beneficence benefactorship's praiseworthy achievements would be countermanded by blameworthy pro-Black race interest countermeasures.

Appearing to be what they denied, that is, adversaries of the Radical New Abolitionists and Republicans and advocates of the reactionaries rushing to restabilize social status quo American Civil Religion, the A.M.A. demonstrated initiative in the Reconstruction era. It took the lead for Domestic Missions-forming Denominations, and functioned (like the Congregationalist American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had at its inception in the first decade of the century) as an interdenominational coordinating agency.

As an ecumenical channel for the relief of freedmen, the A.M.A. agents of Calvinism extended their organization to facilitate the endeavors of the Arminianism and Holiness harmonized Wesleyan Methodist Church (1843)--organized as a New Abolitionist denomination and founded by two radical proabolitionist Methodists, the Reverend Orange Scott (1800-47) and the Reverend LaRoy Sunderland (1802-85). The A.M.A. attracted and appointed an intersectarian host of Protestants who shared values and convictions: beginning with one hundred and twelve missionary-educators in 1860, and reaching the numerical tip point of

five hundred and twenty-eight in 1865, all of whom either/or both organized parochial private schools for the public and served as teachers of elementary and secondary classrooms.

Normally these preceptors materialized as mirror images and perfect reflections of their Yankee-Puritan sponsors, who were nearly an all-White Congregationalist Church leadership class. A.M.A. instructors were also teachers in the seven Black colleges the Yankee-Puritan Denomination founded between 1866 and 1877. Equally suggestive of the symmetrical A.M.A. is the well-known asymmetrical fiscal reserves responsibly managed and dispersed by the cost-conscious agency, that received $10 million plus between 1865 and 1908. In addition to other funds invested in (and/or by) the parochial enterprise, the interlocking directorates of the private and parochial corporation administered on behalf of the A.M.A. the $1 million gift Calvinist capitalist, and Protestant philanthropist *par excellence*, Daniel Hand (1801-91) contributed in 1888. Established as the Daniel Hand Fund for Colored People, its capital was increased by the additional $500,000 behest from his residuary estate.

Calvinist capitalists in their vocation and Protestant philanthropists in their avocation, these entrepreneurs frequently were Yankee-Puritan Congregationalists professors. No less often, their acceleration from gradual growth to exploding expansionist beneficence increased the parochial-benevolent and private-charitable means-ends of Orthodoxy, and the power of their clergy whom they set in charge of monitoring and managing the public distribution of their parochial and private eleemosynary contributions to the commonweal. The pattern of parishioners producing wealth and parsons distributing their mix of gifts and grants was a tradition, that turned out a measure of charity matching the earned income on investments. The level of profits shared with prophets was relative to the discretionary income that the fluctuating market afforded.

But the sharp rise in interest income derived from industrial capitalism entrepreneurs automatically redounded to the benefit of the A.M.A., partly because the Association's bureau chiefs and bureaucrats enjoyed near instant access to resourceful benefactors.

Using their advantage to underpin the disadvantaged, the Congregationalist chief executive actions officers of the A.M.A. possessed, received, and dispensed more total economic resources than any other single Protestant Freedmen's Society. An enduring Southern presence, whose lasting value as a charity chancellery spanned the years between the Civil War and World War I, the A.M.A. "earnestly maintained" (in 1908) 479 officers and instructors, and 13,043 students in 63 institutions located in 11 states (inclusive of 3 seminaries, 7 colleges, 25 secondary schools, 4 affiliated institutions, and 21 ungraded schools).

"Our schools." according to the recorder of the 1908 A.M.A. Annual Report, "are more than schools, they are missions, our teachers are missionary teachers." From whence, of course, an arguable Calvinist capitalist and Yankee philanthropist elective affinity followed in logic and life throughout the unprecedentedly prosperous age of industrial capitalism and Protestant philanthropy, and a fair number of Puritan merchant class-descended Yankee capitalists class-Congregationalists were members of the new-monied and wealthy class.

This nineteenth-century industrial growth- and expansion-based host of enterprise comprised sons and daughters of the wayward worldly saints and sinners, a body of positive Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethics traditionalists, and a competitive class demonstrating slight deference to authentic Puritan Piety and total commitment to individual initiative, the work ethic,

and the free enterprise and free market system.

They were driven by the faith in reason born of optimism resulting from the experience of success, belief in unrestricted opportunity for the competitive to meet and to beat the competition, and trust in the absolute certainty of linear progress. Phenomenal success made their positive thinking irresistible and traditional Calvinist justification by faith unnecessary, as these modern observant Protestant economic powerhouses commissioned revised standard version of the tradition that turned out a realized eschatology, that is, not hope but assurance of actualized salvation secured through solid secular and sacrosanct sacred productive labor and benevolence. Pursuing middle-class morality and respectability, the bourgeois capital and management ruling class abandoned their predetermination tradition which Calvinism transformed Fundamentalism labor and other members of the proletariat working-class embraced as the truth, the way, and the light.

Proclaiming themselves the authentic descendants of the "Old School" traditionalists, who as the majority party jettisoned the "New School" minority party from the Presbyterian Church in 1837, the Fundamentalists in the era of mobocracy claimed they were the "Consistent Calvinists"; drew the inference implied by the sophisticated romantic racialists and racism rationalists; and embraced as realist racists the Black race double damnation and White race double indemnity in history and eternity Halfway Piety faith and deterrence-benevolence ethic, that is, the bequeathed perversion of the authentic Puritan Piety faith and antiblack white-ethnic virtue ethic tradition. They rationalized with the logic of pseudo-scientific racism the dogmatic theology of Evangelical Millennialism and dogmatic ideology of Calvinistical double election--of "the Elect" to eternal salvation and "the Reprobate" to eternal damnation--as effectively as elitist abandoned Millennarianism.

Northern Calvinists had a problem and opportunity on their hands, and by large chose constructive engagement instead of constructive disengagement with the Southern Calvinist racists who out-Puritan Puritan Calvinists. The Confederates and their descendants argued the arguments of their case that Calvinism was as obsolete and expendable as the model motive, means, and opportunity of benevolence established by Jonathan Edwards: for whom the Christian purpose, Protestant function, and Evangelical *Nature of True Benevolence* entailed regenerated private persons and parochial communities coordinating their endeavors to clear a space for the Millennium to surface in New England.[286]

JABEL CURRY: MASTER SOUTHERN BAPTIST AND MANAGER OF NORTHERN CONGREGATIONALIST FUNDS

Although Congregationalists were unmatched benefactors and benefactresses, who appeared both to elude victimization and to escape being eclipsed by the liabilities inherent in the Protestant energized secular and religious political and economic system, these leaders of American Civil Religion most certainly did not corner the philanthropy market. Indeed, they were not alone in enlisting Yankee (and other Protestant) patrons to underwrite Black colleges: particularly during the period when the rich and famous industrialists were demonstrating their peerless principle and interest through establishing for White Americans Vanderbilt, (1873), Johns Hopkins (1876), Stanford (1885), and the University of Chicago (1892).

The post-Reconstruction change in the charitable power flow from the paro-

chial sector to the public sector, and apparent switch in the flow of the benevolence channel from the pre-Reconstruction direction initiated by the parochial philanthropists to that determined by the less religious humanitarian and more secular humanist private philanthropy pilots, was irreversible when the Federal Government pulled its support system out of the South, underpinning Union structural stanchion out from under the Black race, and the troops out of the South to end White Northern Republican Reconstruction and leave the Black Southern Republican Reconstructionists vulnerable to the coercive capricious devices of the arbitrary White Southern Democrats (fast become Republocrats).

A measure of this church and state reversal of values is evident in the post-Reconstruction Yankee and Cavalier rearrangement of the antebellum order. George Peabody (1795-1869), the Danvers, Massachusetts native, successful London (mercantilist turned capitalist) merchant and American financier, emerged in the front ranks of the Protestants who turned the corner from parochial benevolence to private philanthropy. His turning point occurred when he established the Peabody Education Fund (with $1 million in 1867 and added $1 million in 1869) for poor White and Black Southerners. Peabody committed his generosity to encourage "intellectual, moral, or industrial education" among the "more destitute portions of the Southern and Southwestern States." Proceeding toward the realization of this objective, the Peabody Fund expended upwards of $3.5 million prior to 1914.

The Massachusetts Yankee elected a select Northeastern Puritan, and Northern Baptist clergyman, to administer the Peabody Fund and his charitable bare essence: the Reverend Barnas Sears (1802-80). Sears, who resigned as President of Brown University to become the first general agent (1867-80) of the Peabody Fund, was succeeded (in 1881) by a Southern Baptist protectionist of White race/ethnic real interests and values: the Reverend Jabel Lamar Monroe Curry (1825-93). An Evangelical Calvinist cousin of enterprising Yankee Congregationalists quite like Sears, his fellow Baptist, Curry materialized the self-revelation who disclosed that the sharpest distinction between establishment Northern and Southern post-Reconstruction Protestants inhered in the normal avoidance of partisan party power politics by Northern churchmen and acceptance of the participatory democracy process by Southern churchmen.

A convert from a professional politician to a the clerical profession, agent Curry affirmed throughout his life total dedication to the dominance of White race/ethnic groups and subordinance of his Black race-specific cultural kingroup. These anti-Black race values manifested themselves in his anti-Black race interest policy of absolute opposition to educating Black and White Southerners in the same schools. Predictably, like Henry Woodfin Grady, Curry had the ear of Lyman Abbott: the influential theological liberal and social conservative Yankee-Puritan whose cost-effective Congregationalist fingers drew the Yankee purse strings open and/or closed,[287] and who viewed himself as neither a reactionary pragmatist nor a radical idealist but a progressive realist.

ATTICUS HAYGOOD: SOUTHERN METHODIST PREXY OF NORTHEASTERN BENEVOLENCE

The success of the Peabody Fund inspired the son of Samuel Slater (1768-1835)--the Providence cotton mill partner of the Rhode Island Baptist convert to Quakerism (and Old Abolitionist compeer of Newport "Consistent Calvinist" Samuel Hopkins) Elder Moses Brown's (1738-1836)--John Frederick Slater (1814-

84), the Smithfield, Rhode Island native and Norwich, Connecticut manufacturer of textiles.

Charged with benevolence incentives (overpowering the rationalization that all the disincentives diverged from the business of business and converged in the business of religion) and the capacity to convert $1 million of his real profits to true interests, the Connecticut Yankee established the Slater Fund (1882) exclusively for the education of Black Southerners. Slater's equal opportunity and affirmative action policy of reverse discrimination Southern White males opposed but did not need to search for a legal ruling to overturn the race-specific rule, since they were set in charge of the fund by Northern white males in due course.

Slater named as chairman of the Fund's board of trustees the Ohio Presbyterian and onetime Governor, Harvard Law School alumnus, and former President (1877-81) Rutherford Birchard Hayes (1822-93). Earlier, of course, Hayes' Presidential election turned on the great postbellum compromise of principle. A cast of fiscal and social conservative Republicans advancing as reactionary partisan political capitalists, were engaged in turning radical Republican Reconstructionists out of Party control and succeeded to the great benefit of Hayes. This command and control Right Wing of the Republican Party created the moderate Hayes, who pledged that if elected he would withdraw the rule of law-enforcing Federal Troops from the South, pull the Federal Government out of governance and therewith end Reconstruction, give White Solid South majority of Democrats and their all-White leaders of the Democratic Party, and permit the all-Black Republican Party in the South to survived as the powerless minority, whereupon, unquestionably, it ended not through self-destruction but by death at the hands of *Killers of the Dream.*

The Northern Calvinist delivered as promised an archetypal strict constructionist judgment in response to the Southern Calvinist classic class action suit, when upon being declared the Chief Executive by the irreducible minimum vote margin of the House of Representatives (which doubtless confirmed his faith in the fifty per cent plus one rule of the majority) President Hayes fulfilled his end of the bargain. And, as promised, the Republican pragmatist ordered the withdrawal of the Federal troops from Louisiana and South Carolina in 1876. This Executive Order efficiently ended Reconstruction.

The presumption was persuasive to the persuaded that Hayes would preside as a eleemosynary chief executive action officer over the destiny of the Black race with impartiality. But in his benevolent paternalist role, his form and function inherently involved a difference in degree so great from the antislavocracy-proslavocracy neutrality of his antebellum brethren as to be an absolute difference in kind of deterrence-benevolence. This presumption proceeded from the premise that he managed to commute the pro-White race and pro-Black race conflict of real interest into commutuality.

Reconstruction reversed and reconciled Northern victorious and Southern vanquished Civil War Christian soldiers, for class Christianity and civility and civil caste, were Yankees magnanimous after their military victory and unapprehensive of their political defeat arm and arm with Confederates resentful of being taken by conquest and occupied by conquerors and turned vindictive vanquerors following their political who together danced on the grave of the Black body politic, a matched pair of winners and losers who cut their color caste losses and consciences to fit the current fashion and wore their new philanthropic gold and good masks of moral error and evil with style to hide their

greater ethical losses than gains, and parochial and private Pilates and pirates of principle and philanthropy who made mercenary merchants transformed capitalists or Black African slavetraders turned Black African gold Robber Barons look like angels of mercy as they piloted the triumph of race ascendance and descendance.

The private profit and parochial prophet double bottom line of the always virtue united and divided and vice reunited United States White Protestants, who managed polarization by fusing polar opposite people and principal principles as princes of philanthropy and more rigid- than high-principled interlocking directorates of entrepreneurial and ecclesiastical enterprises, proved their sacred and secular social engineering skills in casting color class constituents in concrete civil and church caste constraints.

Philanthropy as the realism of dogmatic pragmatists and pragmatic dogmatists ended in the public disclosure of the fallacies of pragmatism and the follies of realists when Republican Hayes moved from Reconstruction reconciliation to post-Reconstruction reparation with Republocrats, selected a racist Democrat to be his successor, and called his Calvinist constructive engagement with the Arminian Yankee Doodle Dandy ecumenism. This transubstantiation transpired when the Reverend Atticus Greene Haygood (1839-90), the former chaplain in the Confederate Army, was appointed the first general agent (1882-90) of the Slater Fund following favorable reports of his 1881 New England lecture tour.

Emerging in living color a flesh and blood profile of one good turn deserves another, as the (not immediate) successor of the Reverend Robert Finley (1772-1817), the Presbyterian architect of the ACS who subsequently departed the North to serve the South as President of the University of Georgia, Haywood resigned his office as President (1875-85) of Emory University (in which , to be the managing director of the Slater Fund, a post he retained until he was elected (in 1890) Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[288]

Haygood's Arminianism was demonstrably perfectly compatible with the new Calvinism and Yankee wayward worldly saints, and especially with the Puritan race representatives' superior-inferior race premises and principles, politics and policy, and process and programs. Whence his convincement regarding the permanent predomination of White folk and subordination of Black folk was neither suspect nor above suspicion but clearly accepted on its face: as set forth in his book (that attracted the attention of Slater and Hayes and caused them to formalize their offer) entitled *Our Brother in Black: His Freedom and His Future* (1881).

Perchance his anti-Black race interest purpose was less obvious than it appears at a glace because his display of subtlety bedazzled Northern contemporaries. But the Southerner's commitment to the "separate but equal" principle was no more obscured in his book than the persuasion was hidden in his essay on *The Black Shadow in the South* (1893).

Bishop Haygood finished his course in history with the convincement that the enfranchisement of Black Americans during Reconstruction was a "crime against republican government and civilization." The Georgian Methodist was no less certain that the "spirit of insubordination to the social order" currently reflected in the thoughts and actions of the younger generation of Black males --whom he neither knew nor appreciated as well as the first generation of free Black Southerners--made them unworthy of his dearly loved "older negroes," whom the social redeemer declared "the best citizens as well as best laborers" in the New South.[289]

JABEL CURRY: CONFEDERATE CEO OF TWO YANKEE CHARITY FUNDS

When Haygood was elevated to the bishopric in the Southern Methodist Church, Jabel Curry succeeded him as general agent of the Slater Fund--thereby consolidating in his pro-Confederate person the two most generous Yankee Funds for Southern education. Haygood had every reason to be satisfied that the Peabody and Slater Funds were in good hands.[290] But to relieve any lingering reasonable doubt, Curry, the former president of the Alabama Baptist State Convention, swore before the Alabama Legislature (that he addressed on February 1, 1889) that he would never "degrade the white man and give supremacy to the Negro" by supporting the advancement of healthy hearty class and caste conflict and conciliation achieved through fair and equal open competition instead of clashes between the races, Christianity and civility positive integration means and biracial equalitarianism ends, and antiterrorism over proterrorism to erase terrorism conducted by the Ku Klux Klan class of terrorist clansmen.

Being a former professional politician, Curry was no crisis in confidence and competence or credibility to the legislators but comforted the counselors with whom he curried favor and carried clout. The ex-lawmaker advised the Alabama attorneys to believe that demanding decency and dignity for cultural and Christian color caste cousins requires of White folk a measure of reverence for the life of Black folk, regard results in respect that leads to acceptance of the Black race and necessarily ends in the White race being "Africanized," and Africanization of the Europeans by their deethnicized Black race relations is a "depth of degradation and despair from which all the potencies of Christian civilization will not rescue you."[291]

Whereas the Black race efficient extermination instead of scientific experimentation on the Black body ideology ceased and desist with the dearly departed yet not forgotten Horace Bushnell, and his premises and principles were resurrected and redirected in a new policy and process that retargeted the program rather than interred Bushnellian White Nationalism with the bones of the White Nationalist, in the name of White Nationalism prolific White Nationalists transmogrified anti-Reconstructionists produced Jim Crow and killed Reconstruction. Reconstruction was dead and buried by post-Reconstruction Yankee and Confederate pro-White race/ethnic interests-expanding and pro-Black race interests-contracting Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists. Anti-Black race values offended few and were defended by many members of this conscious clergy class and collective conscience, whose puritanical moralisms matching their prototypical hypocrisy were publicly proclaimed proudly as the Anti-Saloon League partisan party power politics parsons concurrently condoned the cancellation of color caste Christian's civil liberties and civil rights and advanced the Prohibition Party to secure the Evangelical Protestant Alliance's interests (inclusive of religious liberty and freedom of conscience).

Any doubt concerning the capacity of Puritan-original and Yankee-revisionist Calvinist dogma to penetrate the South and Confederates was erased by the proclamation of the gospel according to Curry, consisting of a revised authorized standard version of Puritan race and religion reason and revelation relations whose new testament was not the double election but the double damnation of Black folk in history and eternity.

Curry comprised in one man Northern philanthropy; the Southern Baptist Church's dogmatic sacred theology and secular cultural ideology; the influence

accruing to a former Alabama Representative in the United States Congress (1857-61) and the Confederate Congress (1861-64); and the prestige of a United States Minister to Spain (1885-88). This clergyman-politician and philanthropist-statesman force was one formidable foe of pluralism and equalitarianism for Black folk, and firm enemy of the Black race sustained by the parochial-private-public philanthropy interlocking Church-Congress-Corporation philanthropists and friends of the Black body in command and control of the A.M.A. chariots of charity.

Curry proved a real presence who set the A.M.A. in perspective and bold relief, the transparent essence manifesting the expanding and contracting deterrence-benevolence heart and head of the Yankee and Confederation Association, and the absence from the amelioration organ of sufficient efficient positive law and positive politics power to countercheck counterdemanding real interests and values counteragencies.

SOUTHERN CHURCHES' EFFECTIVE SEDUCTION AND REDUCTION OF NORTHERN POWERS

Mutually fertile secular and religious church and state shared values, together with sacred and profane social and political economy real interests, were the constituent elements energizing the elective affinity between antebellum Northern and Southern predominantly English race and British ethnic brothers and sisters, cousins and friends, and partners in parochial enterprises, private corporations, and public institutions.

Their national and intergenerational dynamics created a powerful positive attraction pole (intensifying the magnetism inherent in the majestic Constitution), and positive negation pole within the legal magnet but revered Union of (opposites rather less precisely than) differences, that the Anglo-Americans established to enhance cherished common causes and to manage tolerable distinctions.

These antebellum great certainties and current realities produced a cultural field force, the nature and function of whose charged kinetic energy was explicitly revealed in the public determination of the American powerhouses to affirm their White Gentlemen's Agreement, and to deny any antislavocrat-proslavocrat conflict of real interests.

Slavocrat Calvinists (and other Southern Christian slavemasters) affirmed their principles and refused to compromise them, while former slaveholding and currently nonslaveholding Northern Calvinists (and compeer antislavery clergy of different theological persuasions) adapted themselves to the premises of expedience and convenience and adopted the principle of neutrality.

Antebellum Northern churchmen were able to rationalize their self-styled criterion of ethical correctness and accuracy as not a compromise of principle but the moral standard of the new American pragmatism system and realism model of its enlightened self-interest principle.

It turned on minimizing costs and maximizing efficiency, turned up cost-effective ideological doctrine, and turned out an effective means for rationalizing cost-conscious dogma and pragma theologies of social conservatives. These Northern proslavocrats thought peace through strength was secured through constructive engagement with slavocrats, whom they viewed as firm friends and foes of their biracial equalitarianism demanding Black and White formidable enemies.

The Civil War and Reconstruction served to interrupt the dynamic continuum

of this anti-Black race interest Yankee-Cavalier connection. Postbellum Yankee missionary-educators among the Cavaliers were contested by pro-Union Northerners and pro-Confederacy Southerners as vigorously as they contended that they practiced among the Confederates their Christian principles of repentance (rethinking), forgiveness (forgetting), reconciliation (reconnection of disconnected English race and British ethnic Anglo-Americans), and reparation (deconstruction and destruction of Reconstruction). Undoubtedly, they were less deficient of their Puritan tribalism heritage and more efficient managers of their inherited Puritan bifurcation of reality myopia.

Yankee A.M.A. agents journeyed from the North to the South committed to instituting biracial puritanical moralism within the Congregationalist churches and schools, for which purpose they insulated and isolated this church culture and civil vacuum from the secular sector.

Manifesting the identical intention of antebellum Orthodoxy in the postbellum order, Yankees, endeavoring to complete the Puritan *Errand into the WIlderness* of North America, established compounds for freedmen that for color caste class physical and social security and soul salvation efficiency compared favorably with the safe and sane reservations on which John Eliot preserved his Indian Jews for Jesus.

But the blameworthy anti-Black race values of these praiseworthy preserves made these organizations appear obstructions of justice systems and to that extent a difficulty for the Black majority existing beyond their boundaries--compared to the captivated Black minority residing within the bounds of the total institutions--that developed rapidly and expanded into a problem.

The reverence for limits cause and limited check of lynch law and the lawless who made lynch law and order effects of learned leaders, during the Jim Crow rule of law era, were contributing factors to the lastingness of lynch law, lynch law-abiding legions and their being followed rather than led by the leading ecclesiastical and civil litigious litigators, and limitative last resort church and civil relief appearing the Last Judgment rendered the color caste class citizens by this last Christianity and civility court of appeal.

Social Gospel era cultural liberals and conservatives fending off far right reactionaries and radicals on their left turned out Democratic and Republican Northern and Southern moderates who essayed to dominate the middle-of-the-road between anarchy and tyranny where it seemed patently clear apparently only from the peculiar perspective of the lynched that lawbreakers reigned reinless, formed the consensus centrist conventional wisdom, and the majority of the electorate whose indifference and disinterest will to the good forward from the post-Reconstruction era made a difference in the North and the South.

Major modern model moralists moved and mirrored moving macro and micro moral movements, relative to the antebellum formal form and function of the legitimate immoral Fugitive Slave Laws and Black Codes enacted and enforced by lawmakers in power and authority, and the systemic and systemic postbellum legal injustice of the Northern Democrats and Republicans and Republocrats who distinguished themselves in the mobocracy from mobocrats that proved a difference without a significant distinction in intentions or consequences.

Synchronously, as the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth century, Northern White capitalists and congregants generously funded the selective parochial education of selected Black Southerners during the last third of the nineteenth century.

Concurrently, White Southerners grudgingly aided schools for Southern

Black males and females. Southern White males frequently rationalized their niggardly disregard, and offered for a reason the excuse whose masterful propaganda piece and "Big Lie" Northern Protestant relatives and friends found plausible: Black Southerners, who were refused equal access to civil rights and responsibilities, political and economic opportunities, and educational and legal securities, were not paying their fair share of taxes. And as objective lethal functional illiteracy it was so far from dysfunctional near to achieving its goal that only traditionalists could describe its process as an honest mistake.

The pattern of inequality in separate and unequal Southern education was exemplified by Florida, whose 1898 per capital educational expenditure for Black students ($2.27) was less than half the amount expended for White students ($5.92); and by Adams County, Mississippi where the $2 provided for the education of Black pupils (in 1900) was deliberately calculated to produce disastrous effects, a conclusion difficult to deny when the allocation is contrasted with that of the authorized $22.25 per each White child.

These facts and figures were well-known by apperceptive and concerned contemporaries, who reported they were grievously unfair shares. The statistics were compiled and analyzed by careful, cost-conscious, fiscal, and social conservative statisticians.

They issued them as the official findings of moderates, published the data in their report for the record when they disseminated to the public printed copies of their *Sixth Atlanta Conference for the Study of Negro Problems* (1901). Their pilot Study, prepared by moderate race relations specialists, concluded with the estimation that between 1870 and 1899 Black Southerners paid in indirect school taxes twice the "forty millions" they paid directly "in hard earned cash for educating their children."[292]

A.M.A. Calvinist Congregationalists were complemented as selective apolitical perfectionists by the Arminian Evangelicals, centering in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church: which withstood schisms produced by antislavery-proslavery divisions that included the major North and South cleavage (1844) and existed separately from the distinctly Prohibitionist single-issue and special interest politics-intensive Methodist Episcopal Church, South (1845).

The Northern Methodist Episcopal Church created the Freedmen's Aid Society (1866), and understood its Black constituency in the South to be numerically greater than most and lesser than no other American Denomination.

Methodism's Freedmen's Society established and supported for Black churchmen more institutions of higher learning (fifteen), and missionary-ministerial and secular-religious counterindoctrinationists, than did either the Freedmen's Commission (1865) of the Protestant Episcopal Church or the Home Mission Society (1865) of the American Baptist Convention.[293]

On a par with their rivals in the establishment Evangelical Protestant (Congregational and Episcopal and Presbyterian) Churches, the Arminian Methodist and Calvinist Baptist brutal benevolence brutes managed to survive as a minority on the margins of the power circles that the benevolent paternalist controlled.

As something less than the Protestant power elite philanthopists yet prominent benevolent benefactors, constituting a distinguishing dominance, they evolved a quantitative rather than qualificative difference from Calvinist Presbyterians and Congregationalists by beating their benevolence-deterrence competition in reaching a statistically significant critical mass of Black folk, supporting these masses in independent Black churches, and training large numbers of

Black missionaries.

BLACK POWER IN LOVE AND TROUBLE WITH WHILE SPEAKING TRUTH TO WHITE POWER

Yet the combined efforts of White Methodists and Baptists--together with the comparatively paltry endeavors of Episcopalian missionary-educators--did not begin to compete with the educational and proselytization industry and productivity generated by Black Methodist and Baptist Denominations.

For all their ambivalence under duress as the powerless whom the powerful Protestant powers proscribed, during the late nineteenth century era when the two party system was being challenged by intensive minorities, unlike White Protestant Denominations that selectively engaged Prohibition Party politics and disengaged pure profane partisan politics, the Black Churches did not restrict their moral support of power politics to sectarian (Anti-Saloon League) priorities or withhold it from color caste class competitors seeking alignments with the plethora of parties to secure civil rights in the American pragmatism system of participatory democracy.

Black Denominations, despite parsons and parishioners being preponderantly preempted of citizenship by Christians who claimed to be a national civics lesson, were true to the White Federalist Party (Timothy Dwight) and Black Liberty Party (Henry Highland Garnet) partisan parsons Puritan Piety pattern. Measured by his sacred and secular tradition that Black males held sacrosanct and never forgot, from which norm enveloping standard deviations White Protestants appeared abnormal deviations, Black Churches appreciated and approved the demanding self-determination ambition and driving desire to compete with White race *realpolitikers* in White ethnic partisan party power politics, economics, academies, and legislatures .

Black Denominations fully backed politics-intensive clergymen-politicians and lay political professionals prior to 1895, the turning point of the Social Gospel parsons and the Protestants United for the Separation of Church State from American Civil Religion, in the Americanization of Jim Crow values ten years before the demise of the ACS (the mother of White Nationalism and father of Black Nationalism), and of New South White Nationalists (Protestant philanthropist prototypes permissive of Ku Klux Klan archetypes) and Black Nationalists (in the year that half century-long Black community leader Frederick Douglass died, White Nationalists selected Southern Baptist Booker Taliferro Washington the Black leader, and he vied with Southern A.M.E. Bishop Henry McNeal Turner for the title hegemonic Black Nationalist twenty years before the arrival of quintessential Black Nationalist Marcus Garvey).

Before the ruling class ruled Washington in order, the ruling elder, and he ruled as the majority of one in a fifty per cent plus one process that a good motion requires not second Black Churches as a rule, and the rule of the majority that minority exceptions proved conclusively, did not demand that parsons and parishioners chose between abstention from profane politics and reception of resources ecclesiarchs committed to improve their economic, social, moral, and religious condition.

This was the hardnosed and hardhearted Hobson's Choice that the creators of the ACS as the antislavery agency of the establishment Evangelical Protestant Churches presented antebellum Black folk, by means of which take-it-or-leave-it basis these White Nationalist progenitors of White Nationalism fathered

Black Nationalism, and left Black churchmen in the no-win situation with a strings-attached deterrence-benevolence policy that the postbellum agents of the Denominations' Freedmen's Society successors of the ACS modified imperceptibly.

The anti-Black race interest first and last word that powerhouses of the White Evangelical Churches left Black Protestants to swallow hard and fast--and to digest with discrimination as though it were specimen antiblack white-ethnic virtue--imparted more truth than grace. Sons of Uncle Tom and daughters of Little Eva, whom the Daughters of the Revolution denied were descendants of American Revolution Freedom Fighters who made the supreme sacrifice, were created by the sons (Horace Bushnell and Lyman Beecher) and daughters (Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe) of the wayward worldly saints and sinners wheeling their chariots of charity a color caste class.

Between the Civil War (declared to save the Union for the White ethnic individual) and World War I (declared to make the world safe for democracy), Black victims of mobocracy were accused of being far worse handicapped than dysfunctional illiterates and functional dyslexiacs. Black Radical Reconstruction Republicans set in perspective anti-Reconstruction Republicans and read between the lines the message the pro-White race advocates issued before they drew a line in the dirt and departed the South for the North. Its clear implication and obvious inference that the rational romantic racialists and realist racists rationalized even their misconceived so far from divisible and near to one visible and indivisible deaf, dumb, and blind but not stupid Black body understood comprehensively.

In an imperfect world, a whole human group (like the Black race) may be circumscribed permanently by a time-serving Christian body (like White Protestant Evangelicals) seeking the perfect world in history; securing by serving the status quo class and their caste they cast both outcastes and outside the civil culture by mean morals and measures not exhausted but energized by either standing and *Waiting for Godot* or praying for eternity to arrive on schedule in their history--or least in human time and space in time--to save their Black race from their White race; and settling on excuse, such as blaming their projected overdue Ultimate Revolution for delaying and denying justice and thereby causing their color caste class converts to miss their destiny, or for driving presumably "back to Africa" the Native North American Black body to keep America the White Man's Country that lawmaker-lawyer Abraham Lincoln argued with legal logic and Harriet Beecher Stowe penned in purple prose that the English race and British ethnic settlers bequeathed.

In reality rather than in either the region of rational reason and revelation and/or both the imagination and the appearances, speaking for the sons of the saints and the Daughters of the Revolution, the great idealists who turned from idealism to realism and turned out the male secular-humanist and female sacred-humanitarian quintessential realists pressed Black race deportation to Liberia as at once liberty in freedom, equal access to opportunity, justice under law, and fairness and equity for all. The class of the class will till were revered by dogmatic pragmatists and pragmatic dogmatists as the self-revelation of the real race realations or true faith and ethics test of revealed religion when the revelators rushed to publish for the public policy their White-race/ethnic class over Black-race caste final solution.

They passed for the mind of superior White race and inferior Black race ratiocinators, precisely because this hidden persuasion of the persuaded was not

the prime principle pressed in the public promise and performance of these persuasive Protestant philanthropists--that is, as either color-conscious or race-conscious partisan party and/or the politics and economics game professional players in the profane and ecclesiastical circles controlled by the power elite, neither Lincoln nor Beecher-Stowe could be fairly accused of being conscious racists in a racist society they did nothing so little as to deter or more than illuminate for their own far more dramatic purposes than compelling reasons.

This futuristic church and state united more often than divided as the ecclesiastical and civil powers of the Union created cultural consequences for the color caste class, whose permanent cause and effect entailed enduring late nineteenth century--and lasting twentieth century--rapidly raised and razed recurring reversals of values. Promiscuous and other prominent pregnant pause ploys of prolific Protestant philanthropists are not too few but too many to mention in this admittedly neither absolutely objective nor totally subjective interpretive or deconstructionist-, probative/ratiocinative-, and experiential-based experimental essay in Protestant public ethics.

These demanding great realities and certainties argue another writing project is both the best way to appreciate fully and an appropriate approach to assessing appropriately the culture-determinative caste cast beneath class factors and factions created by these characters' relentless real interests and values driving needs. Whence a projected comparative class and caste ethics analysis will exam singular ones of the significant reason/revelation-replete religion and race relations rewards and punishments that during the end of their Protestant century selective power people elected to provide Black folk in reality.

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